

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER REAPPRAISED -  
A Further Study of Civilian-Troop Relations

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AMERICAN ARMY



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## INTRODUCTION

For the past years, the Research Staff has conducted surveys on West German reactions and attitudes toward the U.S. forces stationed in West Germany.\* The present study is the fourth in a series of annual surveys on the American soldier in Germany. Although in each of the surveys new queries have been added and former ones modified or dropped depending on past survey experience or the changing situation, the key questions have been repeated for four years. Therefore, the basic story of this report will be the trend of German thinking on the broad issues of relations between the U.S. troops and the population of the West German Federal Republic.

The present study is based upon a probability sample of 1,525 cases in West Germany and 280 cases in West Berlin, representing a cross section of the entire adult population 18 years of age and over. Interviewing was conducted from December 5th through December 16th, 1955. The findings for previous years, as reported, are also based on probability samples representative of the West German population of the same age.

Interviewing in all surveys was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung, m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

In the interest of speed in reporting upon the results, complete tabulations of population sub-group comparisons on the issues posed in the present study are not incorporated in the discussion of the findings, but can be found in an appendix.

\* Reference is made to "The German Appraisal Of The Allied Forces In West Germany - With Recommendations For Improved Citizen-Soldier Relations," Report No. 119, Jan 28, 1952 -- "The American Soldier As Appraised By The West German People - A Continuing Study Of Civilian-Troop Relations," Report No. 174, March 11, 1953 -- and "Trends In West German Appraisal Of The United States Forces in Germany," Report No. 128, June 15, 1954, all issued by the Reactions Analysis Staff - Evaluation Staff - and now designated the Research Staff, Office of Public Affairs.

## S U M M A R Y

Since upward favorable trends in West German reactions to American soldiers were the basic findings of previous reports, the present study reveals a turning point in this situation. As compared with the previous findings, average face-to-face contact of American soldiers with German people has decreased significantly. Seeing fewer G.I.s than formerly makes it easy to understand that less Germans now feel that they personally know any of them. This might be one of the possible explanations for the finding that the rating of G.I. behavior is lower than ever before. This suggestion is being substantiated by the finding that acquaintance with an American soldier, even a superficial one, results in a more favorable judgment of the G.I. behavior and of the general soldier-civilian relationship. In concurrence with the general trend in West German opinion on the role of the U.S. troops in Germany, again more than one-third regard the G.I.s solely as occupation troops.

Although there was an apparent gain in regard to German evaluation of the fighting capacity of the individual American soldier from 1952 through 1954, the present survey indicates a significant decrease in the percentage choosing the American soldier for second best fighter (first place being attributed quite naturally to the German soldier). In accordance with this also the percentage of those expecting the American soldiers to fight well against a possible Russian attack has dropped considerably. Popular support for continued presence of U.S. troops in Germany is at the lowest point since 1951. However, the majority still wants U.S. troops to stay. The confidence of the West Germans in their allies is not very great judging by the results of this survey. Only about four out of ten thought that the allies would share the burden of fighting in a possible war.

## Chapter 1 - Knowledge of American Soldiers

LESS THAN ONE QUARTER OF THE POPULATION NOW SEES A G.I DURING THE WEEK ...

As compared with January 1954 an even smaller percentage of the West German population now sees an American soldier during a week, Whereas formerly 28% said that they saw one or more soldiers during the week (and half of these, or 14% of the total population, saw about a dozen or more), in December 1955 only 23% see any American soldiers (with only 9% of the total population seeing as many as a dozen or more.)

Only in West Berlin is the sight of an American soldier not a rarity, for there about half (49%) see one or more G.I.'s during the week.

"Approximately how many American soldiers do you guess you see on the average during the week?"

|             | <u>West Germany</u> |                    | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|             | Jan 1954<br>(1596)  | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 1955<br>(280)  |
| 11 and more | 14%                 | 9%                 | 20%                |
| 4 - 10      | 6                   | 5                  | 11                 |
| 1 - 3       | 8                   | 9                  | 18                 |
| None        | <u>72</u>           | <u>77</u>          | <u>51</u>          |
|             | 100%                | 100%               | 100%               |

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOLDIERS HAS ALSO DECREASED ...

Seeing fewer American soldiers during the week than they formerly did, makes it easy to understand that fewer Germans now feel that they personally know any of them. The small, but significant difference from the period two years ago is seen in the area of knowing an American soldier "well" rather than merely knowing some "superficially". In early 1954 34% knew some American soldiers (and 13% of all West Germans knew some "well"). By the end of 1955 the percentages had gone down to 30% feeling that they knew any G.I's (and only 9% answering that they knew some "well").

Although as seen in the previous table half of the people in West Berlin admit seeing some soldiers during the course of an average week (a percentage much higher than is the case for West Germany), only 32% of them admit to any personal knowledge of some American soldiers. A figure similar to that found in West Germany.

"And have you personally gotten to know American soldiers since the war ended? (Got to know them well or only superficially?)

|                    | <u>West Germany</u> |                    | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                    | Jan 1954<br>(1596)  | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 1955<br>(280)  |
| Yes, well          | 13%                 | 9%                 | 17%                |
| Yes, superficially | 21                  | 21                 | 15                 |
| No, never          | 66                  | 70                 | 67                 |
| No opinion         | <u>-</u>            | <u>*</u>           | <u>1</u>           |
|                    | 100%                | 100%               | 100%               |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.



CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY OVER WHO COMMANDS AMERICAN TROOPS IN GERMANY ...

Not only in West Germany but in West Berlin also there is considerable doubt as to just who does command the American troops in Germany. In West Germany the largest percentage simply admits that it does not know (41%), while equal quarters think that they are under NATO command (26%), or think that they are under American Supreme Command (25%). A small group even chose "Joint German-American Supreme Command" (5%).

The confusion is just about as great in Berlin. There, while one quarter frankly admitted that they did not know (26%), one third (34%) selected NATO Supreme Command, while almost as many (30%) thought that the Americans still retained sole command.

"Can you perhaps tell me who commands the American troops in Germany? Please indicate on this card under whose control the American troops are placed."

|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| The American troops in Germany<br>are placed under ....               |                         |                        |
| American Supreme Command  | 25%                     | 30%                    |
| German control  | 1                       | 1                      |
| NATO - Supreme Command<br>(NATO - West European Defense<br>Community) | 26                      | 34                     |
| Joint German-American Supreme Command                                 | 6                       | 9                      |
| None of these organs, but ...   | 1                       | *                      |
| No opinion  | <u>41</u><br>100%       | <u>26</u><br>100%      |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## Chapter 2 - Appraisal of the American Soldier

### Section 1: Reactions to their Presence

G.I. BEHAVIOR, WHILE GOOD, NOT RATED AS HIGH AS BEFORE ...

The behavior of the American soldier is not considered quite as good as it had been in previous years. Whereas in 1953 and again in 1954 well over half of the population (about 54%) rated their behavior as "good" rather than "fair", less than four-tenths (39%) considered their behavior to be that high in December 1955.

In fairness to the soldier, however, it should be noted that the percentage considering their behavior to be "bad" has remained constant at 4%. That has increased, accounting for the lowered percentage calling their behavior "good", has been the number of people who said that they had "no opinion" on the matter - 32% now as against 23% in 1954 and 21% in 1953. A basis for this increased "no opinion" has already been seen in the greater absence of contact found to be existent in 1955 as against previous years.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it in general good or bad?"

|            | <u>West Germany</u> |                    |                    | <u>West Berl</u> |
|------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
|            | Jan 1953<br>(1593)  | Jan 1954<br>(1596) | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 195<br>(280) |
| Good       | 53%                 | 54%                | 39%                | 58%              |
| Fair       | 22                  | 20                 | 25                 | 24               |
| Bad        | 4                   | 3                  | 4                  | 4                |
| No opinion | 21                  | 23                 | 32                 | 14               |
|            | <u>100%</u>         | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>      |

## LARGEST PERCENTAGE STILL CONSIDERS G.I.-GERMAN RELATIONS IMPROVING ...

Assessment of the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population shows a return to the situation which prevailed in 1953 - an apparent loss from the high point achieved in 1954. While over half of the people (57%) in January 1954 felt that relations had improved during the past years, only four out of ten (39%) gave that answer in December 1955. Again, as was noticed in the preceding question, it is not that the Germans think that matters are bad or worsening (only one in a hundred now as against two out of a hundred in 1954 thought that relations were worsening) but rather that a larger number (as against the previous year) do not have an adequate basis upon which to answer the question. This can be seen in the 36% "no opinion" in the latest survey as against 21% in January 1954.

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the past few years?"

|                    | <u>West Germany</u> |                    |                    | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                    | Jan 1953<br>(1593)  | Jan 1954<br>(1596) | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 1955<br>(280)  |
| Improved           | 36%                 | 57%                | 39%                | 58%                |
| Worsened           | 2                   | 2                  | 1                  | 2                  |
| Remained unchanged | 28                  | 20                 | 24                 | 24                 |
| No opinion         | <u>34</u><br>100%   | <u>21</u><br>100%  | <u>36</u><br>100%  | <u>16</u><br>100%  |

## BASIS FOR IMPROVEMENTS THE SAME AS IN THE PAST ...

As the summary table below shows, the reasons cited for the improvements in G.I.-German relations are generally the same as have been noted in previous studies. The difference between 1955 and 1954 can mainly be seen in the slightly lower percentages now recorded for "more mutual understanding" and "cooperation and assistance" as against the previous survey.

### Bases for Improved Relations

#### Summary Table

|                                       | <u>Jan '53</u>               | <u>Jan '54</u>               | <u>Dec '55</u>               |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| More mutual understanding             | 13%                          | 15%                          | 11%                          |
| Friendlier personal contacts          | 5                            | 9                            | 7                            |
| No longer feel as conquerors          | 4                            | 9                            | 7                            |
| Fewer incidents                       | 5                            | 7                            | 6                            |
| Cooperation and assistance            | 3                            | 7                            | 3                            |
| Recognize us as allies                | 1                            | 3                            | 2                            |
| Marriages                             | 1                            | 2                            | 1                            |
| Relations have improved (unspecified) | 3                            | 3                            | 2                            |
| Other reasons                         | 3                            | 2                            | 2                            |
| No opinion                            | <u>2</u><br>40% <sup>@</sup> | <u>2</u><br>59% <sup>@</sup> | <u>2</u><br>43% <sup>@</sup> |

<sup>@</sup> Some respondents stated more than one reason for improved relations

COMMENTS IN DETAIL ...

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the past few years?"

IF "Improved":

"In what respect have they improved?"

|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>More mutual cordiality, understanding and<br/>friendliness:</u>  | 11%                     | 12%                    |
| "The Americans have a better understanding of our<br>problems now."   |                         |                        |
| "Formerly the Americans were strangers here. Now they've<br>gotten used to conditions over here and have adapted<br>themselves to them."                          |                         |                        |
| "Since the Americans no longer show such an arrogant<br>attitude, the Germans' confidence in them has increased."   |                         |                        |
| "The soldiers' attitude isn't so cool any more. It<br>has become more friendly."  |                         |                        |
| "They are no longer so reserved and have become familiar<br>with our habits and customs."   |                         |                        |
| <u>Friendly personal contacts through joint entertainment,<br/>invitations, etc:</u>  | 7                       | 14                     |
| "More contacts exist now, for instance, American soldiers<br>are permitted to visit German families. Some years ago<br>in 1946 - 1947 this was not the case."     |                         |                        |
| "The Americans are now eager to establish social contacts<br>with Germans."   |                         |                        |
| "There now exist more social relations between the Ameri-<br>cans and the German population. The Americans aren't so<br>reserved any more."                       |                         |                        |
| "Personal contacts were established at parties and social<br>gatherings."   |                         |                        |
| <u>They no longer feel as conquerors - they do not regard<br/>us as enemies any more:</u>   | 7                       | 11                     |
| "The American soldiers no longer act the victors."  |                         |                        |
| "Formerly we were treated as scum, but that has changed<br>long since."   |                         |                        |
| "They no longer regard us as criminals the way they<br>used to."  |                         |                        |
| "Because the American soldiers have come to realize<br>that we are not as barbarous as described by war propa-<br>ganda,"   |                         |                        |
| <u>Their behavior has improved - there are fewer incidents:</u>   | 6                       | 13                     |
| "They used to drink a lot more than they do nowadays.<br>There used to be holdups now and then, but these days<br>their behavior towards us is much more polite." |                         |                        |
| "They aren't so loutish any more and have stopped<br>molesting girls."  |                         |                        |
| "The American soldiers are no longer so noisy as in the<br>early days of the occupation."   |                         |                        |
| "In the beginning you often heard that their conduct left<br>much to be desired."   |                         |                        |

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

| West<br>Germany | West<br>Berlin |
|-----------------|----------------|
|-----------------|----------------|

Cooperation and assistance has been developed:

3%

7%

"At first we didn't like the Americans because they had bombed our cities, but later on they made up for it by donations and gifts. They did a lot for the children and supported the people of Berlin very generously."  
"We are grateful for all the help they've rendered."  
"Mutual assistance is rendered more often."

They now recognize us as allies:

2

2

"Because the American and the West German government stand together against the Russians."  
"Because the Americans have come to see that we are the best partners for them."  
"They have gradually come to regard us as their allies."

It is generally said that relations have improved:

2

2

"You don't hear or read any more about their doing so many bad things."  
"I gather from newspaper reports that relations have improved."

Marriages between Americans and Germans have cemented the already existing friendly relations:

1

4

"With regard to morals, the soldiers don't only have love affairs with German girls, they marry them."  
"Marriages with German girls also promote mutual understanding."

Other reasons:

2

1

"I never had anything to criticize."  
"Relations have improved because the Americans have learned the German language."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{43\%}$ ©

$\frac{1}{67\%}$ ©

© Some respondents stated more than one reason for improved relations.

"Do you have the impression that the relation between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the past few years?"

IF "Worsened":

"In what respect have they worsened?"

L i s t

| <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1%                      | 2%                     |

"We thought that they came for our protection, but all they do is enjoy life over here."

"We have in this house alone three children of Americans, whose fathers don't pay alimony. And then there are even Negro children. Where will that lead to?"

"They enjoy unjustified privileges in the economic sector."

"Discipline is unknown to them. They damage the fields of farmers and kill taxi drivers."

"The American soldiers can think of nothing but pleasure. As far as service and duty are concerned, they are lax."

Section 2: Assessment of Relations

PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH A SOLDIER AN IMPORTANT (AND FAVORABLE)  
FACTOR IN ASSESSING RELATIONS ...

Acquaintance with an American soldier, even a superficial one, results in a more favorable judgment of the general soldier-civilian relationship.

As the following two tables illustrate, among those with a personal acquaintance with an American soldier a majority (51%) rate the G.I.'s behavior "good" and believe that relations have "improved" during the past years. On the other hand of those who do not know a soldier, only one third call his behavior "good" or feel that relations have "improved". Once again it is important to point out, that those without contact with American soldiers do not assign any more negative ratings than do those with such contact. Their honest, sober judgments can be seen in the finding that those without contact realistically return considerably more "no opinion" than do those who know a G.I.

"And have you personally gotten  
to know American soldiers since  
the war ended?"

|  | <u>Yes</u><br>(449) | <u>No</u><br>(1076) |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| "According to everything you have<br>seen and heard, how do you find<br>the behavior of the American<br>soldiers - is it in general good<br>or bad?" |                     |                     |
| Good   | 51%                 | 33%                 |
| Fair   | 32                  | 23                  |
| Bad  | 4                   | 4                   |
| No opinion   | <u>13</u>           | <u>40</u>           |
|  | 100%                | 100%                |

"Do you have the impression that the  
relations between the American soldiers  
and the German civilian population  
have improved or worsened during the  
past few years?"

|                    | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
|--------------------|------------|-----------|
| Improved           | 51%        | 34%       |
| Worsened           | 1          | 2         |
| Remained unchanged | 29         | 22        |
| No opinion         | <u>19</u>  | <u>42</u> |
|                    | 100%       | 100%      |

# TROOPS STILL REGARDED AS MUCH AS OCCUPIERS AS PROTECTORS ...

The abatement of the favorable trend noted between the 1953 and 1954 surveys is seen again in the responses to the question concerning the role of the American soldiers in West Germany, i.e. whether they are seen mainly as occupation troops or as protection. Whereas in January 1954 45% considered them protectors and 30% thought of them as occupiers, now, six months after "sovereignty", only 38% call them protectors and 37% still consider them as occupation troops.

Only in West Berlin does an overwhelming majority (69%) feel that they are protectors rather than occupiers (22%).

"As what do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

|                               | <u>West Germany</u> |                    |                    | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                               | Jan 1953<br>(1593)  | Jan 1954<br>(1596) | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 1955<br>(280)  |
| As occupation troops          | 41%                 | 30%                | 37%                | 22%                |
| As a protection               | 42                  | 45                 | 38                 | 69                 |
| Both - on a fifty-fifty basis | **                  | 13                 | 15                 | 7                  |
| No opinion                    | 17                  | 12                 | 10                 | 2                  |
|                               | <u>100%</u>         | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>        |

\*\* In the 1953 survey the category "Both - on a fifty-fifty basis" was omitted.



## PRESENCE OF TROOPS SEEN A MIXED BLESSING ...

In West Berlin there is little doubt that the presence of American soldiers means more advantages than disadvantages for almost seven out of ten (68%) feel that there are more advantages, and less than one out of ten (8%) think that there are more disadvantages.

The people of West Germany, on the other hand, are not so sure. True, the largest percentage (36%) say that in general there are more advantages - but it should be noted that twice as many as in Berlin (16%) say there are more disadvantages. In addition, there are 29% who feel that there are neither advantages nor disadvantages or that there are as many of the one as of the other involved in the presence of American soldiers in the country. Finally add the 19% who have no opinion on the subject and we have almost two-thirds (64%) of the population who do not see more advantages for their country in having the American troops.

"Considering everything, does the presence of American troops in West Germany, in your opinion, mean more advantages or more disadvantages for us?"

|                                   | <u>West Germany</u> | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| More advantages                   | 36%                 | 68%                |
| More disadvantages                | 16                  | 8                  |
| Neither/nor                       | 16                  | 7                  |
| Both advantages and disadvantages | 13                  | 9                  |
| No opinion                        | 19                  | 8                  |
|                                   | <u>100%</u>         | <u>100%</u>        |

LITTLE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, OR SOCIAL RELATIONS SEEN BETWEEN TROOPS AND GERMAN POPULATION ...

Only about one person out of five thinks that there are economic, cultural, or social relations between the German population and the American soldiers. There is a slightly higher percentage thinking that there are social relations (22%), than think there are economic (17%), or cultural relations (18%).

It is interesting to note, however, that when those people who thought that there were such relations were asked to judge how good these relations were, the cultural relations were adjudged the best (77% thought that they were either "good" or "very good"), while social and economic relations followed with 71% and 65% respectively.

|   | <u>Types of Relations</u> |                 |               |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
|   | <u>Economic</u>           | <u>Cultural</u> | <u>Social</u> |
| <u>Are there relations?</u>                         |                           |                 |               |
| Yes   | 17%                       | 18%             | 22%           |
| No  | 24                        | 21              | 20            |
| Don't know  | 59                        | 61              | 58            |
|   | <u>100%</u>               | <u>100%</u>     | <u>100%</u>   |
| <u>Judgment of Relations</u><br><u>(Yes = 100%)</u> |                           |                 |               |
| Very good   | 10% } 65%                 | 17% } 77%       | 11% } 71%     |
| Good  | 55                        | 60              | 60            |
| Fair  | 21                        | 14              | 17            |
| Bad   | 6 } 7                     | 2 } 2           | 2 } 5         |
| Very bad  | 1                         | *               | 3             |
| No opinion  | 7                         | 7               | 7             |
|   | <u>100%</u>               | <u>100%</u>     | <u>100%</u>   |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

EXAMPLES OF CONTACTS CITED ...

- IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS - MAIN EXAMPLE IS "SHOPPING IN GERMAN STORES"
- IN CULTURAL RELATIONS - VARIOUS THEATRICAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ARE ADVANCED
- IN SOCIAL RELATIONS - CONTACTS WITH GERMAN FAMILIES AND MUTUAL ATTENDANCE AT SOCIAL EVENTS  
LEADING EXAMPLES

COMMENTS IN DETAIL ...

"Can you tell me whether or not any economic and commercial contacts or relations exist between the German population and the American soldiers?"

IF "Yes":  
"What are you thinking of?"

|  | West<br>Germany | West<br>Berli |
|--|-----------------|---------------|
| <u>American soldiers shopping in German stores:</u>  | 10%             | 11%           |
| "The soldiers have fat pay rolls and they spend part of their pay in German shops. That means a help to our economy."          |                 |               |
| "They buy antique tableware and curios, things which they cannot get in the U.S."  |                 |               |
| "They buy cars and gifts over here."   |                 |               |
| "The Americans go shopping in German stores and they certainly are not close-fisted."  |                 |               |
| "In the cities where American troops are stationed, sales have increased."   |                 |               |
| "German innkeepers profit by Americans frequenting their places."  |                 |               |
| <u>Black market activities:</u>  | 3               | 8             |
| "The soldiers engage in all sorts of rackets, and how! - They sell coffee and cigarettes on the black market."                 |                 |               |
| "In order to make their money go a long way here in Germany, American soldiers bribe people and engage in black market deals." |                 |               |
| "I'm thinking of illegal deals in cigarettes and coffee as well as the camp followers, the 'Fraeuleins'."                      |                 |               |
| "The soldiers engage in black market deals involving cigarettes, coffee and cocoa."  |                 |               |
| <u>American orders are placed with German firms:</u>   | 3               | 2             |
| "The consumer goods and building industries profit from the presence of American troops in Germany."                           |                 |               |
| "German firms are considered when orders are placed."  |                 |               |
| "I'm thinking of export and import deals between the U.S. and Germany."  |                 |               |
| "I'm thinking of the flourishing trade between the two countries."   |                 |               |
| <u>American agencies provide employment for German nationals:</u>  | 1               | 1             |
| "I'm thinking of the many Germans who work in American offices."   |                 |               |
| "Quite a few Germans are employed with American government or military agencies."  |                 |               |

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

| <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
|-------------------------|------------------------|

American soldiers spend large sums of money in Germany (no specific purpose mentioned):

|    |    |
|----|----|
| 1% | 1% |
|----|----|

"American soldiers spend nearly 50 million marks a year in Germany."

"I'm thinking of the large sums American soldiers spend in Germany."

Other answers:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | 1 |
|---|---|

"Only the 'Fraueleins' profit from the presence of the Americans, for the black market has practically ceased to exist."

"There are charitable projects launched by the Americans, such as acting as sponsors for children."

No opinion/No answer:

|                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| $\frac{1}{20\%}$ ⓐ | $\frac{3}{27\%}$ ⓐ |
|--------------------|--------------------|

ⓐ Some respondents mentioned more than one example.

"Can you tell me whether or not any cultural contacts or relations exist between the German population and the American soldiers?"

IF "Yes":

"What are you thinking of?"

| <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
|-------------------------|------------------------|

Theater and music programs:

|    |     |
|----|-----|
| 6% | 13% |
|----|-----|

"Germans and Americans organize theater programs together."

"Both we and the Americans take a keen interest in the theater."

"The Americans arrange plays and concerts."

"Musical programs are launched jointly by Americans and Germans."

"I'm thinking above all of the music the Americans have brought us. It means a lot to the younger generation. This music is now included in many entertainment programs."

Cultural activities of the U.S. Information Centers:

|   |    |
|---|----|
| 5 | 11 |
|---|----|

"At the Amerika-Haus books are made available to Germans and we become acquainted with American culture. The Amerika-Haus was built by the military government."

"The Amerika-Haus has a library. They show films there and give away books."

"There are lectures on America and concerts in the Amerika-Haus attended by Germans and American soldiers."

"Of the Amerika-Haus as a cultural institution and a place where we may get to know each other."

Joint cultural activities (in general):

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 3 | 3 |
|---|---|

"Certain cultural programs sponsored by the American army may be attended by Germans."

"There are German-American cultural activities. Germans are invited to attend American programs."

"I'm thinking of the exchange of cultural programs."

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

|  | West<br>Germany  | West<br>Berlin   |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| <u>Film showings and the exchange of films:</u>  | 2%               | 6%               |
| "Yes, through their films, for instance. On American nights the house is always sold out."   |                  |                  |
| "There are American-sponsored activities - film showings, for instance."   |                  |                  |
| "They see German films now, and we see theirs."  |                  |                  |
| <u>The memorial library (in Berlin):</u>   | 2                | 11               |
| "The memorial library is an American institution."   |                  |                  |
| "At the memorial library we learn about American literature."  |                  |                  |
| <u>Sports programs:</u>  | 1                | 4                |
| "Sports events - they sometimes invite you to their football games and other sports events."   |                  |                  |
| "They have many sports clubs."   |                  |                  |
| <u>German-American clubs (and dances):</u>   | 1                | 4                |
| "I am thinking of the clubs where our young people may go to see films and play tennis or take part in dances and other activities." |                  |                  |
| "There are German-American clubs and American youth clubs."  |                  |                  |
| <u>Radio programs:</u>   | 1                | 3                |
| "In radio the Americans have programs covering every field."   |                  |                  |
| "There is the 'Voice of America'."   |                  |                  |
| <u>The German-American exchange program:</u>   | 1                | 1                |
| "I'm thinking of the exchange of students, that is arranged by the American army. Formerly such programs didn't exist."              |                  |                  |
| "There's the chance of visiting the U.S. under the exchange program."  |                  |                  |
| <u>Other answers:</u>  | 3                | 10               |
| "There are Christmas parties for refugee children given by American soldiers."   |                  |                  |
| "As medical students we are invited to American hospitals for discussions."  |                  |                  |
| <u>No opinion/No answer:</u>   | $\frac{1}{26\%}$ | $\frac{1}{67\%}$ |

@ Some respondents mentioned more than one example.

"Can you tell me whether or not any social contacts or relations exist between the German population and the American soldiers?"

IF "Yes":

"What are you thinking of?"

|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Social contacts with German families, especially during the Christmas season:</u>  | 7%                      | 22%                    |
| "People are often asked over the radio to invite American soldiers for Christmas and other holidays, and, as far as I know, these invitations resulted in friendships with the whole family." |                         |                        |
| "Of the 'Operation Joy'."   |                         |                        |
| "They visit German families, for instance, on Sundays or holidays."   |                         |                        |
| "Many German families invite soldiers for Xmas."  |                         |                        |
| <u>Mutual invitations, social events (dances, parties, etc):</u>  | 5                       | 7                      |
| "Especially at big parties you often find Americans."   |                         |                        |
| "There are big social events, like the ball sponsored by the press, etc."   |                         |                        |
| "There are all kinds of parties or celebrations and dances."  |                         |                        |
| <u>Marriages between Americans and German girls:</u>  | 4                       | 9                      |
| "There are lots of marriages between American soldiers and German girls."   |                         |                        |
| "Quite a few of my relatives are married to Americans."   |                         |                        |
| "Quite a few Americans married German women."   |                         |                        |
| "I know a girl who became acquainted with an American and later married him. There are many cases like this one."   |                         |                        |
| <u>American-sponsored charitable projects:</u>  | 2                       | 6                      |
| "They transport children from Berlin to spend their holidays with American families in Southern Germany."   |                         |                        |
| "American soldiers are presenting underprivileged German children with gifts."  |                         |                        |
| "I'm thinking of Christmas parties, arranged by the Americans for German children."   |                         |                        |
| <u>Friendships between Americans and German girls:</u>  | 2                       | 6                      |
| "Many Americans go steady with German girls."   |                         |                        |
| "Many German girls have American boy friends."  |                         |                        |
| "Many Americans have German girl friends."  |                         |                        |
| <u>Clubs and associations which are open to both Germans and Americans:</u>   | 1                       | 3                      |
| "There are clubs to which Germans are admitted."  |                         |                        |
| "A member of my club knows some Americans. They also attend our club meetings."   |                         |                        |
| <u>Cultural events:</u>   | 1                       | 3                      |
| "They arrange concerts and invite the Germans to attend."   |                         |                        |
| "American artists give performances over here."   |                         |                        |
| <u>Sports events:</u>   | 1                       | 2                      |
| "I'm thinking of horse racing and jointly sponsored soccer games."  |                         |                        |
| "Joint participation in sports events."   |                         |                        |

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| <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
|-------------------------|------------------------|

Exchange programs:

1%

\*%

"Many Germans were invited to visit America."

"Exchange of students and professional groups."

Other answers:

1

3

"People get together with Americans for discussions and to exchange opinions."

"Their restaurants and cafeterias are also open to their German employees."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{26\%}$ @

$\frac{1}{62\%}$ @

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents mentioned more than one example.

## INTERMARRIAGE DISAPPROVED BY 3 TO 1 ...

In West Germany only about one in ten (13%) accepts the idea of their daughter, sister, or other close female relative marrying an American soldier even though the question supposed that the girl "would want to marry" the soldier. More than three times as many people (42%) voice their opposition to the idea, while another large group (45%) either "don't care" or had "no opinion" on the matter.

A somewhat more favorable picture is seen in the returns for West Berlin. There acceptance of the idea enjoys a slight plurality over rejection (38% as against 30%).

"Just imagine your daughter, sister, or some other close female, would want to marry an American soldier, would you like to see that happen or wouldn't you?  
(Do you like the idea very much or just somewhat?)  
(Don't you like the idea too much or are very much against it?)"

|                          | <u>West Germany</u> | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Like the idea very much  | 2%                  | 8%                 |
| Like it just somewhat    | 11                  | 30                 |
| Don't like it too much   | 27                  | 21                 |
| I'm very much against it | 15                  | 9                  |
| I don't care             | 35                  | 30                 |
| No opinion               | 10                  | 2                  |
|                          | <u>100%</u>         | <u>100%</u>        |

## "ONE SHOULD NOT MARRY A FOREIGNER" - MAIN REASON FOR OPPOSITION TO G.I. MARRIAGES ...

Among those people who "did not like the idea too much" or who were "very much against it" the leading reasons advanced for such opposition were:

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| "One should not marry a foreigner"                      | - 19% |
| "There would be a separation entailing great distances" | - 7%  |
| "The two countries are too different"                   | - 5%  |



COMMENTS IN DETAIL ...

"Just imagine your daughter, sister, or some other close female, would want to marry an American soldier, would you like to see that happen or wouldn't you?  
(Do you like the idea very much or just somewhat?)  
(Don't you like the idea too much or are you very much against it?)"

IF "Don't like it too much" or "I'm very much against it":

"For what reasons wouldn't you like to see that happen? (Would you be against it?)"

|  | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Because one should not marry a foreigner, there are enough German men:</u>  | 19%                     | 13%                    |
| "Because I would prefer her to marry a German. I feel that to be a more likable idea."   |                         |                        |
| "I'm too much of a German - perhaps the Third Reich led me to think this way - not to like the idea of having a foreigner as a member of my family." |                         |                        |
| "Because one belongs to one's country."  |                         |                        |
| "Because Germans belong together."   |                         |                        |
| "There are enough German men, therefore our girls needn't get married to American soldiers."   |                         |                        |
| "I'm against marriages with foreigners on principle."  |                         |                        |
| <u>Because of the great distance entailed in the separation:</u>   | 7                       | 8                      |
| "It would mean that I would lose my daughter. I want to keep her here. America is too far away."   |                         |                        |
| "America is too far away, perhaps I would never see the children again."   |                         |                        |
| "As her mother, I feel that America is too far away. Otherwise I have nothing against it."   |                         |                        |
| <u>The two countries are too different:</u>  | 5                       | 4                      |
| "Because there is no natural affinity between Germans and Americans."  |                         |                        |
| "Because the Americans are different from the Germans."  |                         |                        |
| "Life in the U.S. is different from our life over here."   |                         |                        |
| <u>One does not know what she has to expect:</u>   | 4                       | 4                      |
| "Not all her expectations will come true. You don't know how she'll be off over there."  |                         |                        |
| "You don't know the American's financial position at home."  |                         |                        |
| "You don't really know them. You can't be sure what sort the man is."  |                         |                        |
| <u>Experience has proved that these marriages are often unsuccessful:</u>  | 3                       | 1                      |
| "It was proven by experience that these marriages fail."   |                         |                        |
| "Many of the girls who married Americans have cried bitterly ever since because they are so disappointed with America."                              |                         |                        |

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|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u>       | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u>        |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>Because the Americans were our enemies:</u>  | 3%                            | 1%                            |
| "Formerly they were our enemies. I don't regard them as<br>worthy of marrying my daughter."   |                               |                               |
| "Because they were our enemies and ruined Germany."   |                               |                               |
| <u>I don't like the Americans:</u>  | 1                             | 1                             |
| "Because I simply don't like them."   |                               |                               |
| "As far as I have come to know them, I regard the American<br>soldiers as bad and would, therefore, be against such a<br>marriage." |                               |                               |
| <u>Other answers:</u>   | 1                             | *                             |
| "I like the Germans better, they are smarter."  |                               |                               |
| <u>No opinion/No answer:</u>  | $\frac{1}{44\%}$ <sup>ⓐ</sup> | $\frac{*}{32\%}$ <sup>ⓐ</sup> |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

ⓐ Some respondents stated more than one reason.

Section 3 - Evaluation of Combat Qualities

U.S. SOLDIERS SLIP FURTHER BEHIND GERMANS AND RUSSIANS ...

From 1952 through 1954 there was an apparent gain in the regard with which the West Germans evaluated the fighting qualities of the individual American soldier. Through the 1954 survey there was a steady rise in the percentage nominating the American soldier as the second best fighter - 12%, 20% and then 24% - while the percentage naming the Russians as the second best remained constant at 31% (West Germans naturally gave their own men first place). In the present survey, while the West Germans still choose their own as the best (75%), and the Russians as second (33%), there is a significant decrease in the percentage choosing the American soldier for second place (16% as against 24% in 1954, and a rise in the percentage naming the G.I. for last place (16% now as against 12% in 1954).

The similarity between the various figures for the most recent survey and the results obtained in January 1953 is striking.

"All in all, in your opinion, who, as an individual soldier, makes the best fighter? And who is in second place? And who is in last place?"

|            | <u>First place</u>   |                      |                      |                      | <u>West Berlin</u>  |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
|            | <u>West Germany</u>  |                      |                      |                      |                     |
|            | Sep<br>'52<br>(1188) | Jan<br>'53<br>(1593) | Jan<br>'54<br>(1596) | Dec<br>'55<br>(1525) | Dec<br>'55<br>(280) |
| Americans  | 1%                   | 2%                   | 2%                   | 3%                   | 5%                  |
| British    | 1                    | 1                    | 1                    | 1                    | *                   |
| Germans    | 77                   | 80                   | 76                   | 75                   | 84                  |
| Russians   | 5                    | 4                    | 3                    | 4                    | 5                   |
| French     | *                    | *                    | *                    | *                    | *                   |
| No opinion | 16                   | 13                   | 18                   | 17                   | 6                   |
|            | 100%                 | 100%                 | 100%                 | 100%                 | 100%                |

|            | <u>Second place</u> |      |      |      |      |
|------------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Americans  | 12%                 | 20%  | 24%  | 16%  | 22%  |
| British    | 13                  | 12   | 9    | 14   | 20   |
| Germans    | 5                   | 6    | 4    | 6    | 8    |
| Russians   | 31                  | 31   | 31   | 33   | 30   |
| French     | 8                   | 6    | 4    | 5    | 7    |
| No opinion | 31                  | 25   | 28   | 26   | 13   |
|            | 100%                | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

|            | <u>Last place</u> |      |      |      |      |
|------------|-------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Americans  | 20%               | 16%  | 12%  | 16%  | 14%  |
| British    | 8                 | 11   | 13   | 9    | 5    |
| Germans    | *                 | *    | 1    | *    | -    |
| Russians   | 9                 | 9    | 9    | 9    | 14   |
| French     | 25                | 32   | 33   | 38   | 50   |
| No opinion | 38                | 32   | 32   | 28   | 17   |
|            | 100%              | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

RUSSIAN SUPERIORITY OVER THE G.I. SEEN IN HIS HARDINESS AND PRIMITIVE NEEDS ...

The reasons for the Russians superiority over the American fighting man were asked of all those who selected the Russians as better fighters than the Americans. The three leading reasons given for this supposed superiority are almost identical to those given in preceding years, and stress:

- "Russian soldiers are hardier, tougher."
- "They are primitive and have fewer needs than American soldiers."
- "Russian soldiers are more courageous, more fanatical."
- "All in all, in your opinion, who, as an individual soldier, makes the best fighter? And who is in second place? And who is in last place?"
- IF "Russians" named before "Americans":
- "Why is the Russian soldier superior to the American? (In what respect - which points?)

|  | West<br>Germany | West<br>Berlin |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| <u>Russian soldiers are hardier and tougher:</u>   | 16%             | 11%            |
| "The Russians have been trained so as to be much more robust and tough."   |                 |                |
| "They are hardier and more ruthless than the Americans."   |                 |                |
| "Because the Russians possess enormous endurance which the Americans lack."  |                 |                |
| "The Russian soldiers are more inured to hardships."   |                 |                |
| "Due to the rough climate, Russian soldiers have a greater power of resistance."   |                 |                |
| "The Russians can bear greater physical hardships."  |                 |                |
| <u>Russian soldiers are primitive and have fewer needs than American soldiers:</u>   | 15              | 20             |
| "The Russian is a child of nature. He grows up accustomed to a wretchedly poor life, and thus he is good at adapting himself to changing circumstances." |                 |                |
| "The Russians are predominantly a primitive people. They do not need technology without which the Americans cannot get along."                           |                 |                |
| "The Russians can get along on very little. They make cheap material for soldiers."  |                 |                |
| "The Russian soldier is very moderate in his way of life, while the Americans have too many needs."  |                 |                |
| "The Russians can fight on a bottle of schnapps and bread, even in the severest cold, the Americans cannot pull off a thing like that."                  |                 |                |
| "The Russians can live on dried leaves or bark, if need be. No Yank could ever stand such hardships."  |                 |                |

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|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u>      | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u>       |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <u>Russian soldiers are more courageous, more fanatical:</u>  | 13%                          | 15%                          |
| "The Russians are daredevils. They tackle things more vigorously. They have more pluck."  |                              |                              |
| "The Russian soldiers are fighters. They plod ahead doggedly and don't care what the odds are."                                 |                              |                              |
| "They are more willing to give all that's in them. No need to say more."  |                              |                              |
| "A Russian soldier defends his position until his last breath. He never surrenders, I've had this experience a thousand times." |                              |                              |
| "The Russians fight with fanaticism. They don't think."   |                              |                              |
| "The life of the individual counts for nothing with the Russians. Everybody risks his life unhesitatingly."                     |                              |                              |
| <u>Russian soldiers are bolstered by Communist ideas and the Communist regime demands strict obedience:</u>                     | 6                            | 7                            |
| "The individual Russian fights for an idea, that's why he is superior to his American counterpart."                             |                              |                              |
| "The Russians fight for their ideals, while the Americans don't bother with reflecting on things."                              |                              |                              |
| "The Russians will always obey unthinkingly."   |                              |                              |
| "It's because of the enormous pressure exerted on the Russian soldiers by their rulers."  |                              |                              |
| <u>Russian soldiers undergo a more rigid and tougher training:</u>  | 3                            | 3                            |
| "The Russians undergo a rigorous training, and that's what makes them good front-line dogfaces."                                |                              |                              |
| "Russian soldiers get more careful training in hand-to-hand fighting."  |                              |                              |
| "Because, unlike the Americans, the Russians undergo a stiff drill. The Americans love freedom and creature comforts."          |                              |                              |
| <u>Other answers:</u>   | 1                            | 2                            |
| "The Russians always advance with large armies."  |                              |                              |
| "They've fought more wars than the others and therefore they have greater experience."  |                              |                              |
| <u>No opinion/No answer:</u>  | <u>6</u><br>60% <sup>a</sup> | <u>2</u><br>60% <sup>a</sup> |

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GERMAN SUPERIORITY OVER THE G.I. SEEN IN HIS COURAGE AND TOUGHNESS ...

German national pride can be seen in many of the answers given in response to the query asking for the grounds for the German soldiers' superiority over the American soldiers. The two leading reasons advanced for the superiority of the German soldier are the same reasons which have been reported in other studies - "German soldiers are more courageous", and "German soldiers are tougher and have more endurance."

By and large the Americans are considered too soft and essentially unmilitaristic, with greater reliance upon the superiority of his materiel.

"All in all, in your opinion, who, as an individual soldier, makes the best fighter? And who is in second place? And who is in last place?"

IF "Germans" named before "Americans":

"In what respect, would you say, are the American soldiers inferior to the former German soldiers? (Can you give some examples of what you have in mind?)"

|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>German soldiers are more courageous, they have a keener fighting spirit:</u>   | 25%                     | 25%                    |
| "The Germans are the greatest daredevils there are. They are braver than the Americans."  |                         |                        |
| "The Americans will hardly ever carry out such dangerous missions involving a task force of two or three men only as we do."                          |                         |                        |
| "The Germans are by nature the keener fighters."  |                         |                        |
| "The Germans are better front-line fighters."   |                         |                        |
| "The Americans take no interest whatever in military affairs, but that's not the case with the Germans, and that's why they are the better soldiers." |                         |                        |
| "The Germans are more ardent. They take this matter more seriously."  |                         |                        |
| <u>German soldiers are tougher, more enduring, and simpler in their needs:</u>  | 15                      | 20                     |
| "German soldiers aren't as soft. They are sturdier than the Americans."   |                         |                        |
| "German soldiers are of a much tougher fibre."  |                         |                        |
| "They have greater power of resistance. I'm talking of our boys."   |                         |                        |
| "It's because the Americans are accustomed to greater comforts in their daily life."  |                         |                        |
| "American soldiers are not so enduring and they cannot get along on as little as the Germans."  |                         |                        |

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|  | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>American soldiers rely exclusively on their more ample and technically superior materiel:</u>   | 10%                     | 17%                    |
| "The Americans rely exclusively on their highly developed technology. The individual soldier would be absolutely sunk if something went wrong with his technical equipment."               |                         |                        |
| "The only strong point of the Americans is their large Air Force. That's why they are technically superior."   |                         |                        |
| "The Americans take it too much for granted that they have better and more ample equipment than their opponents."  |                         |                        |
| "The Americans are good fighters only if they have the best arms and equipment at their disposal, while the Germans will stand their ground under any conditions."                         |                         |                        |
| "If the Yanks would ever be without their machines, they'd be sunk."   |                         |                        |
| <u>Germans have proved to be good soldiers through the ages:</u>   | 9                       | 15                     |
| "Germans have always been the most capable soldiers. If we had had such ample materiel at our disposal as the Americans had, we would never have lost either World War I or World War II." |                         |                        |
| "The Germans are born soldiers, that was proven during our past monarchical eras."   |                         |                        |
| "It became quite clear during the last war that the German soldiers were superior to all the others."  |                         |                        |
| "It runs in the blood of the Germans. They will always make good soldiers."  |                         |                        |
| "No other nation is a match for the Germans as soldiers."  |                         |                        |
| <u>German soldiers are more obedient, they have a stronger sense of duty and are more disciplined:</u>   | 8                       | 11                     |
| "In precarious situations German soldiers have shown themselves much more disciplined."  |                         |                        |
| "His sense of duty will rule out everything else with a German soldier."   |                         |                        |
| "The Americans do not accept authority as unquestioningly."  |                         |                        |
| "The Americans don't know absolute obedience as the Germans do."   |                         |                        |
| <u>German soldiers undergo a more rigorous and more competent training:</u>  | 6                       | 15                     |
| "The Americans weren't subjected to as rugged a training as our soldiers."   |                         |                        |
| "The training they get is too lax. They are puppets in uniform, but not soldiers."   |                         |                        |
| "The American soldiers lack a thorough knowledge of their weapons."  |                         |                        |
| "They don't believe in military drill as do the Germans and that's why they don't receive such a competent training."  |                         |                        |
| "The German soldiers are better trained, and that's the main thing."   |                         |                        |

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|  | West<br>Germany | West<br>Berlin |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| <u>German soldiers are superior as infantrymen and individual fighters:</u>  | 5%              | 6%             |
| "As infantry soldiers the Americans cannot compete with our men."  |                 |                |
| "As individual fighters they do not come up to German standards."  |                 |                |
| "In hand-to-hand fighting the Germans are superior. In this sphere the Americans are failures."  |                 |                |
| "The Americans do not make good infantry soldiers."  |                 |                |
| <u>Contrary to the Americans, the Germans fought for their country:</u>  | 3               | 5              |
| "The Americans do not have a serious purpose when fighting in Europe, while we stand to lose everything if things go wrong."   |                 |                |
| "The term "fatherland" doesn't have as deep a meaning for the Americans as it has for us. They do not quite know what they are fighting for."                                  |                 |                |
| "The Americans do not fight so doggedly as they have never experienced what it means to defend one's country."   |                 |                |
| <u>German soldiers fight for their ideals:</u>   | 2               | 2              |
| "A German soldier will place the aim he has in view above all personal considerations, while an American soldier will always think of himself first."                          |                 |                |
| "The Germans proved themselves to be the superior soldiers since fighting to them meant defending their ideals and convictions."   |                 |                |
| "The Americans are not consecrated to any spiritual objects."  |                 |                |
| <u>American soldiers have not accumulated as much extensive war experience as German soldiers:</u>   | 1               | 2              |
| "The Americans have never conducted a war on their own, if you come down to it. They do not really know what war means for they have never fought a war in their own country." |                 |                |
| "They haven't had any experience of warfare in Russia as we had."  |                 |                |
| <u>Other answers:</u>  | 2               | 5              |
| "The Americans admitted it themselves that this is true. German soldiers are superior in every respect, in combat, in advancing and also in defending their positions."        |                 |                |
| "Only with the assistance of the Russians, the British, the French and the colonial peoples did the Americans succeed in defeating the German soldiers."                       |                 |                |
| "The Germans are superior to the Americans in the field of technology and inventions."   |                 |                |
| <u>No opinion/No answer:</u>   | 12<br>98%       | 6<br>129%      |

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



DROP IN BELIEF THAT U.S. SOLDIERS WILL FIGHT WELL AGAINST POSSIBLE RUSSIAN ATTACK ...

In keeping with the previous findings that West Germans do not seem to regard the American soldiers fighting qualities as highly as in the past, there is a significant decrease in the percentage of West Germans who think that the American soldiers now in Germany will fight "well" against a possible Russian attack. The percentage having that much confidence in the fighting ability of the American soldier (38%) is lower than ever found before. (In 1954 it was 48%, and in 1953 it was 43%.)

Fortunately, in West Berlin, where contacts with the Russians are more frequent and realistic, there is considerably more confidence in the protection afforded by the presence of the American soldiers. Almost two-thirds of the population there (63%) think that the G.I's would fight "well".

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe, that the American soldiers who are here now will fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

|             | <u>West Germany</u> |                    |                    | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|             | Jan 1953<br>(1593)  | Jan 1954<br>(1596) | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 1955<br>(280)  |
| Well        | 43%                 | 48%                | 38%                | 63%                |
| Fairly well | 18                  | 17                 | 19                 | 11                 |
| Poorly      | 18                  | 14                 | 16                 | 13                 |
| Undecided   | <u>21</u>           | <u>21</u>          | <u>27</u>          | <u>13</u>          |
|             | 100%                | 100%               | 100%               | 100%               |

BELIEVE SOLDIERS WOULD NOT FIGHT WELL BECAUSE "THEY WOULD NOT BE FIGHTING FOR THEIR OWN COUNTRY"...

By far the outstanding reason given by West Germans (and West Berliners) as to why the American soldiers would not fight particularly well in the event of a Russian attack is the belief that they would not be interested in defending Germany since it is not their own country. Only secondarily do they mention presumed shortcomings of the soldiers themselves.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now will fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack."

IF "Fairly well" or "Poorly":

"For what reasons, in your opinion, would the American soldiers here not fight well."

|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>They would not be fighting for their own country -<br/>they are not interested in defending Germany:</u>   | 16%                     | 9%                     |
| "This isn't their homeland. They would fight more ardently in the States, no doubt."  |                         |                        |
| "They wouldn't make as powerful an effort to defend Germany as they would if the U.S. were at stake."   |                         |                        |
| "To the individual soldier fighting here, his home country seems far away and I don't think he will realize that in defending Europe he protects his fatherland." |                         |                        |
| "I guess they would fight well only for their own country."   |                         |                        |
| "Because they aren't interested in defending our country."  |                         |                        |
| "They can hardly be expected to lift a finger for their former enemies."  |                         |                        |
| <u>They are poor soldiers without much combat<br/>experience:</u>   | 9                       | 6                      |
| "I cannot imagine the Americans fighting well as individuals. They are good only when attacking in large numbers."  |                         |                        |
| "They aren't overly brave fighters in any case."  |                         |                        |
| "They aren't well prepared for combat."   |                         |                        |
| "They lack fighting spirit. They aren't too plucky."  |                         |                        |

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|   | West<br>Germany  | West<br>Berlin   |
|---|------------------|------------------|
| <u>They fear the Russians and are no match for<br/>then in combat:</u>  | 4%               | 4%               |
| "They'll take to their heels for they are mortally<br>afraid of the Russians."  |                  |                  |
| "Because the Russians will advance with such superior<br>forces that the Americans will quit Germany in a<br>jiffy."  |                  |                  |
| "I believe they would be scared if they had to face<br>millions of forward storming Russians with no pardon<br>being given. Even now they have cold feet when there<br>is some trouble with the Russians."                |                  |                  |
| "Due to Russian superiority, the Americans won't<br>have a chance to fight. They are heavily outnumbered<br>by the Russians who also have short supply lines, and<br>for these reasons the odds are on the Russian side." |                  |                  |
| <u>They will let us bear the brunt of an attack and will<br/>defend Germany only beyond the Rhine:</u>  | 2                | 2                |
| "I think they will let the Germans pull the<br>chestnuts out of the fire."  |                  |                  |
| "I know what their watchword is: to defend Europe on<br>the Western shore of the Rhine. In my opinion, the<br>Americans won't achieve much in Europe."  |                  |                  |
| "The main line of defense has been set up beyond<br>Germany's Western frontiers."   |                  |                  |
| <u>They would rely too heavily on their superior materiel:</u>  | 1                | 3                |
| "They won't fight at all. They'll just drop a hail of<br>atom bombs; then no soldier will fight on any front<br>any more."  |                  |                  |
| "In the last war the Americans employed tremendous<br>quantities of materiel."  |                  |                  |
| <u>Other answers:</u>   | 1                | 2                |
| "They have to bring their reinforcements and supplies<br>from across the ocean."  |                  |                  |
| "I think they will slowly withdraw until reinforcements<br>will arrive."  |                  |                  |
| <u>No opinion/No answer:</u>  | $\frac{2}{35\%}$ | $\frac{-}{26\%}$ |

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THOSE KNOWING G.I.'s MORE LIKELY TO FEEL THEY WILL FIGHT WELL ...

The favorable influence personal knowledge of an American soldier has on attitudes towards the American troops is further seen in the different responses made on the question of how well the Americans would fight a Russian attack. Among those knowing an American soldier, 43% thought they would fight "well" and another 23% thought they would fight "fairly well". Among those who do not know an American soldier, on the other hand the pertinent figures are only 36% and 17% selecting these same categories.

"And have you personally gotten to know American soldiers since the war ended?"

| <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
|------------|-----------|
| (449)      | (1076)    |

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now will fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

|             |           |           |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| Well        | 43%       | 36%       |
| Fairly well | 23        | 17        |
| Poorly      | 17        | 15        |
| Undecided   | <u>17</u> | <u>32</u> |
|             | 100%      | 100%      |

Section 4: Shall American Troops Stay?

WHILE INCREASED OPPOSITION, MAJORITY STILL WANT TROOPS TO STAY ...

Popular support for the continued presence of the American troops in West Germany is at the lowest point since this question was first posed in December 1951. Despite the decrease in support, which reflects a drastic drop since January 1954 (when 71% wanted the troops to stay), a majority of the West Germans (55%) still want the troops to stay on.

In West Berlin the situation is different. There the overwhelming majority, almost nine out of ten (87%), want the American forces to stay, while only one out of ten (9%) want them to leave.

"Taking everything into consideration, should the American forces leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

|            | <u>West Germany</u> |                    |                    |                    | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|            | Dec 1951<br>(1195)  | Jan 1953<br>(1593) | Jan 1954<br>(1596) | Dec 1955<br>(1525) | Dec 1955<br>(280)  |
| Leave      | 22%                 | 19%                | 15%                | 25%                | 9%                 |
| Stay on    | 58                  | 67                 | 71                 | 55                 | 87                 |
| No opinion | 20                  | 14                 | 14                 | 20                 | 4                  |
|            | <u>100%</u>         | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>        | <u>100%</u>        |

DESIRE TO HAVE AMERICAN FORCES GO BASED ON FEELING THEY COST THE GERMANS TOO MUCH MONEY, AND ARE NO LONGER NECESSARY FOR PROTECTION ...

The one quarter of the population who want the American troops to leave West Germany gave a number of different types of reasons for wanting the troops to go. The two leading reasons, accounting for the majority of the reasons cited, emphasized the cost factor and the belief that their presence is no longer necessary.

"Taking everything into consideration, should the American forces leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

IF "Leave":

"Why should the American forces, in your opinion, leave Germany?"

|   | <u>West<br/>Germany</u> | <u>West<br/>Berlin</u> |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Because they cost us too much:</u>   | 9%                      | 2%                     |
| "They are nothing but a heavy financial burden for us."                         |                         |                        |
| "Because the troops are an unnecessary expense."                                |                         |                        |
| "They should leave after a certain transition period. We have to pay for them." |                         |                        |
| "I'm thinking of the occupation costs."   |                         |                        |
| <u>Because we do not need the American troops any more:</u>                     | 6                       | 3                      |
| "Their presence isn't necessary any more."                                      |                         |                        |
| "We don't need them for our protection."  |                         |                        |
| "In case of an emergency, they'll run away anyway."                             |                         |                        |

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

|   | West<br>Germany    | West<br>Berlin     |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Only then would we be politically free and independent:</u>  | 3%                 | 4%                 |
| "We Germans want to be able to act freely and independently, without being bossed by others."                                 |                    |                    |
| "Conditions over here should be the same as in Austria."  |                    |                    |
| <u>Because we are establishing an army of our own:</u>  | 3                  | *                  |
| "Once we have an army of our own, they won't be needed any more."   |                    |                    |
| "They're no longer needed since a new German army has been established."  |                    |                    |
| <u>Because it might improve German-Russian relations and bring about reunification:</u>                                       | 2                  | *                  |
| "If they leave, we would have a chance to conclude a peace treaty with Russia and reunification would be brought about soon." |                    |                    |
| "Because Russia will withdraw its troops from the occupied territory only after the others have left,"                        |                    |                    |
| <u>Because additional housing space would become available:</u>   | 1                  | -                  |
| "All they do is to take up housing space which we need."  |                    |                    |
| "We could well do with those many apartments which they occupy."  |                    |                    |
| <u>Because the American soldiers cause trouble:</u>   | 1                  | -                  |
| "They just cause trouble, e.g. illegitimate children."  |                    |                    |
| "As it is, all they do is to get involved in fights."   |                    |                    |
| <u>Other answers:</u>   | 1                  | 2                  |
| "Ten years is enough."  |                    |                    |
| "Then it would be easier to feel that we live in times of peace. They should be glad to be able to go home."                  |                    |                    |
| <u>No opinion/No answer:</u>  | $\frac{1}{27\%}$ © | $\frac{*}{11\%}$ © |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents stated more than one reason.

MAJORITY OF THOSE NOT WANTING AMERICAN TROOPS TO LEAVE THINK THEIR NUMBER SHOULD REMAIN THE SAME ...

The three-quarters of the West German population who either wanted the American troops to stay on or who had no opinion on the question of their going or staying, were asked whether the American troops should be increased, decreased, or remain the same. A majority of them (52%) thought that the number should remain stationary.

"Supposing the American forces stay on in Germany, should they be decreased in number or not? (IF 'Not decreased': Should they be increased in number or should they remain stationary?)" (Asked of those answering "Stay on" or "No opinion" - 75% = 100%)

|                                   | West Germany<br>(1525) |     | West Berlin<br>(280) |     |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Decreased                         | 10%                    | 13% | 14%                  | 16% |
| Not decreased - remain stationary | 39                     | 52  | 55                   | 60  |
| Not decreased - increased         | 5                      | 7   | 13                   | 14  |
| No opinion                        | 21                     | 28  | 9                    | 10  |
|                                   | 75% = 100%             |     | 91% = 100%           |     |

AMONG THOSE WANTING THE AMERICAN ARMY TO STAY, BUT IN DECREASED NUMBERS, DESIRE TO REDUCE COSTS THE LEADING REASON ...

IF "Decreased":  
"What are your reasons for recommending a decrease in the American forces in Germany?"

|  | West<br>Germany | West<br>Berlin |
|--|-----------------|----------------|
| <u>Occupation costs would be reduced that way:</u>   | 5%              | 6%             |
| "We have to foot the bill for maintaining the American forces, after all. That's why it would be better if they'd decrease their troops. We'd have to pay less." |                 |                |
| "It's because all this costs money. Our own army will be a heavy enough financial burden for us."  |                 |                |
| "It's because we have to pay such heavy taxes."  |                 |                |
| "We wouldn't have to pay such heavy occupation costs any more."  |                 |                |
| "In that way we could save money."   |                 |                |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <u>The new German Armed Forces provide adequate protection:</u>   | 2 | 5 |
| "As we are to have military forces of our own, it will not be necessary to maintain so large a number of occupation troops any longer." |   |   |
| "It's because we are about to raise an army of our own and soon our people can take over."  |   |   |
| "As the German army is being built up, American troops can be reduced in strength."   |   |   |
| "They can be replaced by German soldiers by and by."  |   |   |

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

| West<br>Germany | West<br>Berlin |
|-----------------|----------------|
|-----------------|----------------|

The changed political and military situation allows for a reduction of American forces:

|    |    |
|----|----|
| 1% | 1% |
|----|----|

"It's no longer so vital to retain such a large number of troops over here as our situation has become a little more secure by now."  
"It seems to me there is no danger at present. I'm of the opinion that the Russians won't harm us any more."

Additional housing space would become available:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | - |
|---|---|

"A lot of housing space would be vacated and it would be easier for us to accomodate our German refugees."  
"It would be a good thing in that more apartments would be available then."

Other answers:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | 3 |
|---|---|

"Perhaps it would mean a step forward toward reunification if troops would be gradually reduced."  
"It's because I feel we all should close that occupation chapter and should work for peace."

No opinion/No answer:

|                     |                                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| <sup>*</sup><br>10% | <sup>*</sup><br>15% <sup>©</sup> |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|

\* Less than one half of one per cent.  
© Some respondents gave more than one reason.



## Section 5: Trust in Germany's Allies

MAJORITIES BELIEVE GERMANY WILL BE RECOGNIZED AS EQUAL WITHIN NATO ...

More than five out of ten in West Germany and more than seven out of ten in West Berlin feel that Germany will be accorded fair and equal treatment within the West European defense community. While majorities see equal treatment, a sizeable minority of over two-tenths in both West Germany and West Berlin is skeptical and believes that West Germany will not be recognized as an equal.

"West Germany soon will set up an army of its own within NATO - that is, within the West European defense community. Do you believe West Germany will be recognized as an equal partner by the member nations of NATO, or don't you think it will enjoy equal rights with the others?"

|                            | <u>West Germany</u> | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Recognized as an equal     | 52%                 | 71%                |
| Not recognized as an equal | 24                  | 22                 |
| No opinion                 | <u>24</u>           | <u>7</u>           |
|                            | 100%                | 100%               |

WEST GERMANY UNDECIDED, WHETHER, IN EVENT OF WAR, ALLIES WOULD REALLY SHARE THE BURDEN OF THE FIGHTING WITH HER ...

West Germans do not have very great confidence that her allies can be depended upon to come to her aid in the event of an attack. In West Germany the largest percentage (45%) subscribed to the view that in a war German troops would have to bear the brunt of the fighting, while the other countries would try to spare their own troops as much as possible. A slightly smaller segment (39%) thought that the allies would come to their rescue and share the burden of the fighting.

In West Berlin, on the other hand, a substantial majority (63%) showed confidence in Germany's allies; but still almost a third (32%) felt that West Germany would largely be left holding the bag when the chips are down.

"Two persons are discussing the possibility of a war between East and West. Would you please tell me which view you would be more likely to agree with?" (CARD)

|  | <u>West Germany</u> | <u>West Berlin</u> |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|
|--|---------------------|--------------------|

Mr. Mueller:

"In a war the German troops would have to bear the brunt of the fighting. The other countries would try to spare their troops as much as possible."

45%

32%

Mr. Schultz:

"In case of an attack from the East German troops would have to face the enemy first, but later on the armies of our allies would come to our rescue and would bear the burden of the fighting together with us."

39

63

No opinion

16  
100%

5  
100%

APPENDIX

"Approximately how many American soldiers do you guess you see on the average during the week?"

|                                   | 11 and<br>more | 4 to 5 | 1 to 3 | None | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------|--------|------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 9%             | 5%     | 9%     | 77%  | *%...100%     | 1525            |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Men                               | 12             | 6      | 9      | 73   | *             | 659             |
| Women                             | 7              | 4      | 8      | 81   | *             | 866             |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Elementary school                 | 8              | 4      | 9      | 79   | *             | 1264            |
| Beyond elementary                 | 15             | 8      | 7      | 70   | -             | 261             |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 6              | 4      | 9      | 81   | -             | 160             |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 6              | 3      | 10     | 81   | *             | 312             |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 9              | 5      | 11     | 75   | -             | 366             |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 11             | 5      | 6      | 78   | *             | 257             |
| 500 DM and more                   | 13             | 6      | 9      | 71   | 1             | 343             |
| No answer                         | 2              | 8      | 4      | 86   | -             | 87              |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Very active                       | 6              | 10     | 6      | 78   | -             | 79              |
| Somewhat active                   | 10             | 5      | 11     | 74   | *             | 411             |
| Remainder                         | 9              | 4      | 8      | 79   | *             | 1035            |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Upper classes                     | 15             | 8      | 15     | 60   | 2             | 59              |
| Upper middle classes              | 11             | 7      | 7      | 75   | *             | 380             |
| Lower middle classes              | 10             | 3      | 8      | 79   | -             | 848             |
| Lower classes                     | 3              | 5      | 11     | 80   | 1             | 238             |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                    | 13             | 5      | 13     | 69   | -             | 163             |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 10             | 6      | 7      | 76   | 1             | 355             |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 10             | 4      | 9      | 77   | *             | 279             |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 9              | 4      | 11     | 76   | -             | 323             |
| 55 years and above                | 6              | 4      | 7      | 83   | -             | 405             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| SPD                               | 13             | 4      | 11     | 72   | *             | 354             |
| CDU/CSU                           | 7              | 5      | 7      | 81   | -             | 423             |
| FDP                               | 21             | 5      | 6      | 68   | -             | 81              |
| Other parties                     | 9              | 6      | 10     | 74   | 1             | 79              |
| No party                          | 6              | 7      | 9      | 78   | *             | 319             |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 7              | 3      | 8      | 82   | *             | 269             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Professionals                     | 5              | 8      | 10     | 77   | -             | 40              |
| Businessmen                       | 15             | 8      | 12     | 64   | 1             | 86              |
| White-collar workers              | 17             | 3      | 6      | 73   | 1             | 144             |
| Skilled laborers                  | 12             | 7      | 11     | 70   | -             | 221             |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 13             | 6      | 10     | 71   | -             | 127             |
| Domestic service                  | 11             | 4      | 11     | 74   | -             | 45              |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 4              | 6      | 8      | 82   | -             | 112             |
| Housewives                        | 6              | 4      | 7      | 83   | *             | 522             |
| Unemployed                        | 20             | 7      | 7      | 66   | -             | 15              |
| Pensioners; retired               | 4              | 3      | 9      | 84   | -             | 200             |
| Students; apprentices             | 15             | 8      | 23     | 54   | -             | 13              |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |                |        |        |      |               |                 |
| Catholics                         | 10             | 7      | 10     | 72   | 1             | 715             |
| Protestants                       | 9              | 3      | 7      | 81   | -             | 755             |
| Others                            | 5              | 5      | 13     | 77   | -             | 22              |
| No religion                       | 6              | -      | 6      | 88   | -             | 33              |

(Cont'd on next page)

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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|                        | <u>11 and<br/>more</u> | <u>4 to 5</u> | <u>1 to 3</u> | <u>None</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>         |                        |               |               |             |                       |                         |
| Natives                | 9%                     | 5%            | 9%            | 77%         | *%...100%             | 1235                    |
| Expellees, refugees    | 8                      | 4             | 10            | 78          | -                     | 290                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                        |               |               |             |                       |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 6                      | 5             | 11            | 78          | *                     | 460                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999         | 5                      | 3             | 8             | 84          | -                     | 123                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999        | 8                      | 4             | 8             | 80          | -                     | 334                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999       | 18                     | 7             | 9             | 66          | *                     | 254                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999     | 6                      | 8             | 6             | 79          | 1                     | 138                     |
| 250,000 and more       | 13                     | 2             | 5             | 80          | *                     | 216                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                        |               |               |             |                       |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                        |               |               |             |                       |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 1                      | 1             | 5             | 93          | -                     | 165                     |
| Lower Saxony           | -                      | *             | 1             | 99          | -                     | 214                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | *                      | 1             | 1             | 98          | *                     | 406                     |
| Hesse                  | 30                     | 5             | 20            | 45          | -                     | 166                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 5                      | 12            | 14            | 69          | -                     | 85                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden     | 20                     | 7             | 13            | 60          | -                     | 207                     |
| Bavaria                | 14                     | 13            | 17            | 55          | 1                     | 282                     |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"And have you personally gotten to know American soldiers since the war ended? (Got to know them well or only superficially?)"

|                                   | Yes,<br>well | Yes,<br>superficially | No,<br>never | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 9%           | 21%                   | 70%          | *%...100%     | 1525            |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Men                               | 10           | 24                    | 66           | *             | 659             |
| Women                             | 7            | 19                    | 74           | *             | 866             |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Elementary school                 | 7            | 19                    | 74           | *             | 1264            |
| Beyond elementary                 | 15           | 31                    | 54           | -             | 261             |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 5            | 16                    | 79           | -             | 160             |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 7            | 18                    | 74           | 1             | 312             |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 10           | 20                    | 70           | -             | 366             |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 7            | 22                    | 71           | *             | 257             |
| 500 DM and more                   | 12           | 27                    | 61           | -             | 343             |
| No answer                         | 4            | 17                    | 78           | 1             | 87              |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:©</u> |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Very active                       | 10           | 34                    | 56           | -             | 79              |
| Somewhat active                   | 9            | 22                    | 69           | *             | 411             |
| Remainder                         | 8            | 19                    | 73           | *             | 1035            |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Upper classes                     | 22           | 46                    | 32           | -             | 59              |
| Upper middle classes              | 10           | 25                    | 65           | *             | 380             |
| Lower middle classes              | 7            | 20                    | 73           | *             | 848             |
| Lower classes                     | 7            | 12                    | 81           | *             | 238             |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                    | 11           | 21                    | 68           | -             | 163             |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 7            | 20                    | 73           | *             | 355             |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 7            | 21                    | 71           | 1             | 279             |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 9            | 23                    | 68           | -             | 323             |
| 55 years and above                | 9            | 20                    | 71           | *             | 405             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| SPD                               | 13           | 22                    | 65           | -             | 354             |
| CDU/CSU                           | 6            | 23                    | 71           | -             | 423             |
| FDP                               | 15           | 20                    | 65           | -             | 81              |
| Other parties                     | 11           | 25                    | 63           | 1             | 79              |
| No party                          | 7            | 19                    | 74           | -             | 319             |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 5            | 18                    | 76           | 1             | 269             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Professionals                     | 20           | 28                    | 52           | -             | 40              |
| Businessmen                       | 13           | 36                    | 50           | 1             | 86              |
| White-collar workers              | 11           | 29                    | 60           | -             | 144             |
| Skilled laborers                  | 8            | 23                    | 69           | -             | 221             |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 8            | 23                    | 69           | -             | 127             |
| Domestic service                  | 13           | 18                    | 69           | -             | 45              |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 5            | 14                    | 81           | -             | 112             |
| Housewives                        | 7            | 18                    | 74           | 1             | 522             |
| Unemployed                        | 7            | 13                    | 80           | -             | 15              |
| Pensioners; retired               | 6            | 17                    | 77           | -             | 200             |
| Students; apprentices             | 23           | 23                    | 54           | -             | 13              |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |              |                       |              |               |                 |
| Catholics                         | 8            | 23                    | 69           | *             | 715             |
| Protestants                       | 9            | 20                    | 71           | *             | 755             |
| Others                            | 14           | 23                    | 63           | -             | 22              |
| No religion                       | 9            | 15                    | 76           | -             | 33              |

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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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|                        | <u>Yes,<br/>well</u> | <u>Yes,<br/>superficially</u> | <u>No,<br/>never</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>         |                      |                               |                      |                       |                         |
| Natives                | 8%                   | 22%                           | 70%                  | *%...100%             | 1235                    |
| Expellees, refugees    | 9                    | 18                            | 73                   | -                     | 290                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                      |                               |                      |                       |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 7                    | 19                            | 74                   | *                     | 460                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999         | 4                    | 19                            | 77                   | -                     | 123                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999        | 8                    | 21                            | 71                   | -                     | 334                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999       | 14                   | 19                            | 67                   | *                     | 254                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999     | 6                    | 20                            | 73                   | 1                     | 138                     |
| 250,000 and more       | 10                   | 30                            | 60                   | *                     | 216                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                      |                               |                      |                       |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                      |                               |                      |                       |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 8                    | 14                            | 78                   | -                     | 165                     |
| Lower Saxony           | 5                    | 16                            | 79                   | -                     | 214                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 7                    | 21                            | 72                   | *                     | 406                     |
| Hesse                  | 13                   | 27                            | 60                   | -                     | 166                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 6                    | 24                            | 70                   | -                     | 85                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden     | 8                    | 22                            | 73                   | *                     | 207                     |
| Bavaria                | 12                   | 24                            | 63                   | 1                     | 282                     |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Can you perhaps tell me who commands the American troops in Germany? Please indicate on this card under whose control the American troops are placed.

The American troops in Germany are placed under .....

|                                    | American<br>Supreme<br>Command | German<br>control | NATO -<br>Supreme<br>Command | Joint<br>German/<br>American<br>Supreme<br>Command | None<br>of<br>these<br>organs,<br>but ... | No<br>opin-<br>ion | No.<br>of<br>case |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|--|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>          | 25%                            | 1%                | 26%                          | 6%   | 1%  | 41%..100%          | 1525              |
| <u>Sex:</u>                        |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Men                                | 31                             | 1                 | 40                           | 5  | 1   | 22                 | 659               |
| Women                              | 20                             | *                 | 16                           | 7  | 1   | 56                 | 866               |
| <u>Education:</u>                  |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Elementary school                  | 24                             | 1                 | 23                           | 6  | 1   | 45                 | 1264              |
| Beyond elementary                  | 26                             | -                 | 40                           | 5  | 1   | 28                 | 261               |
| <u>Income:</u>                     |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Up to 149 DM                       | 18                             | 1                 | 10                           | 6  | 1   | 64                 | 160               |
| 150 to 299 DM                      | 26                             | 1                 | 20                           | 6  | 1   | 46                 | 312               |
| 300 to 399 DM                      | 27                             | *                 | 28                           | 7  | -   | 38                 | 366               |
| 400 to 499 DM                      | 23                             | *                 | 32                           | 8  | 1   | 36                 | 257               |
| 500 DM and more                    | 26                             | *                 | 34                           | 4  | 1   | 35                 | 343               |
| No answer                          | 25                             | -                 | 22                           | 5  | 1   | 47                 | 87                |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> ⓐ |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Very active                        | 18                             | 1                 | 50                           | 4  | -   | 27                 | 79                |
| Somewhat active                    | 27                             | 1                 | 36                           | 7  | *   | 29                 | 411               |
| Remainder                          | 25                             | *                 | 20                           | 6  | 1   | 48                 | 1035              |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>      |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Upper classes                      | 19                             | -                 | 47                           | 7  | 2   | 25                 | 59                |
| Upper middle classes               | 24                             | *                 | 33                           | 6  | 1   | 36                 | 380               |
| Lower middle classes               | 27                             | *                 | 25                           | 6  | 1   | 41                 | 848               |
| Lower classes                      | 20                             | 2                 | 13                           | 7  | 1   | 57                 | 238               |
| <u>Age:</u>                        |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Up to 24 years                     | 26                             | -                 | 28                           | 7  | -   | 39                 | 163               |
| 25 to 34 years                     | 28                             | *                 | 31                           | 4  | *   | 37                 | 355               |
| 35 to 44 years                     | 26                             | *                 | 28                           | 8  | 1   | 37                 | 279               |
| 45 to 54 years                     | 23                             | 1                 | 25                           | 7  | 1   | 43                 | 323               |
| 55 years and above                 | 22                             | 1                 | 22                           | 5  | 1   | 49                 | 405               |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>           |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| SPD                                | 31                             | 1                 | 28                           | 6  | 1   | 33                 | 354               |
| CDU/CSU                            | 23                             | *                 | 31                           | 8  | 1   | 37                 | 423               |
| FDP                                | 22                             | -                 | 30                           | 8  | 4   | 46                 | 81                |
| Other parties                      | 34                             | 3                 | 24                           | 6  | -   | 33                 | 79                |
| No party                           | 22                             | 1                 | 24                           | 5  | *   | 48                 | 319               |
| No party preference<br>stated      | 22                             | -                 | 16                           | 3  | *   | 59                 | 269               |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                 |                                |                   |                              |  |   |                    |                   |
| Professionals                      | 20                             | -                 | 50                           | 5  | -   | 25                 | 40                |
| Businessmen                        | 25                             | -                 | 30                           | 2  | -   | 43                 | 86                |
| White-collar workers               | 22                             | 1                 | 45                           | 6  | 1   | 25                 | 144               |
| Skilled laborers                   | 39                             | 1                 | 37                           | 3  | *   | 20                 | 221               |
| Semi-skilled laborers              | 31                             | 2                 | 31                           | 7  | -   | 29                 | 127               |
| Domestic service                   | 25                             | -                 | 22                           | -  | -   | 53                 | 45                |
| Farmers, farmhands                 | 27                             | -                 | 21                           | 11   | 1   | 40                 | 112               |
| Housewives                         | 20                             | *                 | 17                           | 7  | 1   | 55                 | 522               |
| Unemployed                         | 7                              | 7                 | 26                           | 7  | 7   | 46                 | 15                |
| Pensioners; retired                | 24                             | *                 | 17                           | 7  | 1   | 51                 | 200               |
| Students; apprentices              | 8                              | -                 | 77                           | -  | -   | 15                 | 13                |

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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

ⓐ Determined by political and organizational participation.



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The American troops in Germany are placed under .....

|  | <u>American<br/>Supreme<br/>Command</u> | <u>German<br/>control</u> | <u>NATO -<br/>Supreme<br/>Command</u> | <u>Joint<br/>German/<br/>American<br/>Supreme<br/>Command</u> | <u>None<br/>of<br/>these<br/>organs, but ...</u> | <u>No<br/>opin-<br/>ion</u> | <u>No.<br/>of<br/>cases</u> |
|--|---|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <u>Religion:</u>                       |   |                           |                                       |   |  |                             |                             |
| Catholics                              | 25%                                     | *%                        | 23%                                   | 6%  | 1%   | 45%.100%                    | 715                         |
| Protestants                            | 24                                      | 1                         | 28                                    | 6   | *  | 41                          | 755                         |
| Others                                 | 9                                       | -                         | 32                                    | 18  | 5  | 36                          | 22                          |
| No religion                            | 27                                      | -                         | 43                                    | -   | -  | 30                          | 33                          |
| <u>Origin:</u>                         |   |                           |                                       |   |  |                             |                             |
| Natives                                | 25                                      | *                         | 26                                    | 6   | 1  | 42                          | 1235                        |
| Expellees, refugees                    | 25                                      | 1                         | 27                                    | 4   | *  | 43                          | 290                         |
| <u>City Size:</u>                      |   |                           |                                       |   |  |                             |                             |
| Up to 1,999                            | 26                                      | 1                         | 22                                    | 5   | *  | 46                          | 460                         |
| 2,000 to 4,999                         | 26                                      | -                         | 28                                    | 6   | 1  | 39                          | 123                         |
| 5,000 to 24,999                        | 24                                      | 1                         | 26                                    | 8   | 1  | 40                          | 334                         |
| 25,000 to 99,999                       | 17                                      | 1                         | 28                                    | 6   | 2  | 46                          | 254                         |
| 100,000 to 249,999                     | 25                                      | -                         | 28                                    | 4   | -  | 43                          | 138                         |
| 250,000 and more                       | 33                                      | *                         | 29                                    | 5   | *  | 33                          | 216                         |
| <u>Land:</u>                           |   |                           |                                       |   |  |                             |                             |
| Schleswig/Holstein,<br>Hamburg, Bremen | 20                                      | 2                         | 34                                    | 8   | 1  | 35                          | 165                         |
| Lower Saxony                           | 20                                      | 1                         | 28                                    | 6   | *  | 45                          | 214                         |
| North Rhine/West-<br>phalia            | 24                                      | *                         | 28                                    | 7   | 1  | 40                          | 406                         |
| Hesse                                  | 31                                      | 1                         | 22                                    | 4   | 1  | 41                          | 166                         |
| Rhineland/<br>Palatinate               | 36                                      | -                         | 19                                    | 5   | -  | 40                          | 85                          |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                     | 24                                      | *                         | 27                                    | 2   | 1  | 46                          | 207                         |
| Bavaria                                | 27                                      | -                         | 21                                    | 7   | 1  | 44                          | 282                         |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it in general good or bad?"

|                                  | <u>Good</u> | <u>Fair</u> | <u>Bad</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany:</u>       | 39%         | 25%         | 4%         | 32%...100%        | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                      |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Men                              | 42          | 30          | 4          | 24                | 659                 |
| Women                            | 36          | 22          | 4          | 38                | 866                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                | 38          | 25          | 4          | 33                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                | 42          | 28          | 4          | 26                | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                   |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                     | 34          | 22          | 3          | 41                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                    | 38          | 27          | 4          | 31                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                    | 43          | 24          | 4          | 29                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                    | 37          | 25          | 6          | 32                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                  | 40          | 27          | 3          | 30                | 343                 |
| No answer                        | 29          | 26          | 5          | 40                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Very active                      | 41          | 30          | 5          | 24                | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                  | 42          | 28          | 4          | 26                | 411                 |
| Remainder                        | 37          | 24          | 4          | 35                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>    |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                    | 52          | 24          | 7          | 17                | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes             | 38          | 26          | 4          | 32                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes             | 40          | 25          | 4          | 31                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                    | 31          | 26          | 5          | 38                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                      |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                   | 44          | 28          | 3          | 25                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                   | 35          | 30          | 3          | 32                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                   | 41          | 29          | 3          | 27                | 279                 |
| 45 to 54 years                   | 41          | 21          | 5          | 33                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above               | 36          | 21          | 5          | 38                | 405                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>         |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| SPD                              | 47          | 27          | 3          | 23                | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                          | 44          | 24          | 2          | 30                | 423                 |
| FDP                              | 36          | 37          | 5          | 22                | 81                  |
| Other parties                    | 49          | 27          | 8          | 16                | 79                  |
| No party                         | 27          | 25          | 7          | 41                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated       | 31          | 22          | 4          | 43                | 269                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>               |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Professionals                    | 40          | 25          | 2          | 33                | 40                  |
| Businessmen                      | 50          | 21          | 3          | 26                | 86                  |
| White-collar workers             | 39          | 33          | 5          | 23                | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                 | 41          | 32          | 4          | 23                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers            | 43          | 28          | 4          | 25                | 127                 |
| Domestic service                 | 36          | 27          | 4          | 33                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands               | 38          | 27          | 2          | 33                | 112                 |
| Housewives                       | 37          | 21          | 5          | 37                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                       | 46          | 27          | 7          | 20                | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired              | 31          | 23          | 3          | 43                | 200                 |
| Students; apprentices            | 46          | 31          | 8          | 15                | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                 |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Catholics                        | 41          | 25          | 3          | 31                | 715                 |
| Protestants                      | 37          | 26          | 4          | 33                | 755                 |
| Others                           | 36          | 32          | 14         | 18                | 22                  |
| No religion                      | 30          | 12          | 18         | 40                | 33                  |

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|                        | <u>Good</u> | <u>Fair</u> | <u>Bad</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>         |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| atives                 | 38%         | 26%         | 4%         | 32%...100%        | 1235                |
| Expellees              | 39          | 24          | 3          | 34                | 290                 |
| <u>City Size:</u>      |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Up to 1,999            | 37          | 28          | 3          | 32                | 460                 |
| 2,000 to 4,999         | 29          | 29          | 4          | 38                | 123                 |
| 5,000 to 24,999        | 41          | 23          | 4          | 32                | 334                 |
| 25,000 to 99,999       | 41          | 26          | 4          | 29                | 254                 |
| 100,000 to 249,999     | 32          | 29          | 4          | 35                | 138                 |
| 250,000 and more       | 46          | 19          | 5          | 30                | 216                 |
| <u>Land:</u>           |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |             |             |            |                   |                     |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 47          | 18          | 7          | 28                | 165                 |
| Lower Saxony           | 32          | 27          | 4          | 37                | 214                 |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 38          | 17          | 2          | 43                | 406                 |
| Hesse                  | 36          | 37          | 4          | 23                | 166                 |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 33          | 33          | 5          | 29                | 85                  |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden     | 31          | 29          | 5          | 35                | 207                 |
| Bavaria                | 48          | 29          | 4          | 19                | 282                 |

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the past few years?"

| ...                               | Im-<br>proved | Worsened | Remained<br>unchanged | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 39%           | 1%       | 24%                   | 36%...100%    | 1525            |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Men                               | 45            | 2        | 25                    | 28            | 659             |
| Women                             | 34            | 1        | 23                    | 42            | 866             |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Elementary school                 | 37            | 2        | 24                    | 37            | 1264            |
| Beyond elementary                 | 51            | 1        | 21                    | 27            | 261             |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 28            | 3        | 26                    | 43            | 160             |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 38            | 1        | 22                    | 39            | 312             |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 37            | 2        | 25                    | 36            | 366             |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 43            | 3        | 23                    | 31            | 257             |
| 500 DM and more                   | 46            | 1        | 23                    | 30            | 343             |
| No answer                         | 27            | -        | 26                    | 47            | 87              |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Very active                       | 48            | 3        | 21                    | 28            | 79              |
| Somewhat active                   | 45            | 4        | 21                    | 30            | 411             |
| Remainder                         | 36            | 1        | 25                    | 38            | 1035            |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Upper classes                     | 63            | 2        | 15                    | 20            | 59              |
| Upper middle classes              | 46            | 1        | 23                    | 30            | 380             |
| Lower middle classes              | 37            | 2        | 25                    | 36            | 848             |
| Lower classes                     | 29            | 3        | 22                    | 46            | 238             |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                    | 40            | *        | 31                    | 29            | 163             |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 42            | 1        | 23                    | 34            | 355             |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 37            | 3        | 25                    | 35            | 279             |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 41            | 2        | 22                    | 35            | 323             |
| 55 years and above                | 35            | 2        | 22                    | 41            | 405             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| SPD                               | 43            | 3        | 20                    | 34            | 354             |
| CDU/CSU                           | 41            | 1        | 26                    | 32            | 423             |
| FDP                               | 54            | 1        | 26                    | 19            | 81              |
| Other parties                     | 48            | 6        | 22                    | 24            | 79              |
| No party                          | 32            | 1        | 26                    | 41            | 319             |
| No party preference stated        | 30            | 1        | 23                    | 46            | 269             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |               |          |                       |               |                 |
| Professionals                     | 53            | 2        | 15                    | 30            | 40              |
| Businessmen                       | 62            | 1        | 19                    | 18            | 86              |
| White-collar workers              | 47            | 1        | 26                    | 26            | 144             |
| Skilled laborers                  | 42            | 3        | 30                    | 25            | 221             |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 44            | 2        | 22                    | 32            | 127             |
| Domestic service                  | 36            | -        | 24                    | 40            | 45              |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 30            | 4        | 29                    | 37            | 112             |
| Housewives                        | 34            | 1        | 23                    | 42            | 522             |
| Unemployed                        | 53            | -        | 20                    | 27            | 15              |
| Pensioners; retired               | 30            | 2        | 21                    | 47            | 200             |
| Students; retired                 | 38            | -        | 31                    | 31            | 13              |

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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

® Determined by political and organizational participation

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                              | <u>Im-<br/>proved</u> | <u>Worsened</u> | <u>Remained<br/>unchanged</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Religion:</u>             |                       |                 |                               |                       |                         |
| Catholics                    | 36%                   | 2%              | 26%                           | 36%...100%            | 715                     |
| Protestants                  | 42                    | 1               | 22                            | 35                    | 755                     |
| Others                       | 50                    | -               | 14                            | 36                    | 22                      |
| No religion                  | 34                    | 6               | 30                            | 30                    | 33                      |
| <u>Origin:</u>               |                       |                 |                               |                       |                         |
| Natives                      | 39                    | 1               | 24                            | 36                    | 1235                    |
| Expellees, refugees          | 37                    | 3               | 22                            | 38                    | 290                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>            |                       |                 |                               |                       |                         |
| Up to 1,999                  | 34                    | 2               | 26                            | 38                    | 460                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999               | 43                    | 2               | 19                            | 36                    | 123                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999              | 36                    | 2               | 28                            | 34                    | 334                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999             | 47                    | 2               | 16                            | 35                    | 254                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999           | 41                    | 1               | 27                            | 31                    | 138                     |
| 250,000 and more             | 39                    | 1               | 24                            | 36                    | 216                     |
| <u>Land:</u>                 |                       |                 |                               |                       |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, |                       |                 |                               |                       |                         |
| Bremen                       | 56                    | 2               | 11                            | 31                    | 165                     |
| Lower Saxony                 | 35                    | 1               | 22                            | 42                    | 214                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia       | 31                    | 1               | 23                            | 45                    | 406                     |
| Hesse                        | 46                    | 4               | 28                            | 22                    | 166                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate         | 29                    | 1               | 38                            | 32                    | 85                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden           | 34                    | 1               | 25                            | 40                    | 207                     |
| Bavaria                      | 44                    | 2               | 28                            | 26                    | 282                     |

"As what do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: Chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

|                                   | As occu-<br>pation<br>troops | As a<br>pro-<br>tection | Both - on<br>a fifty/<br>fifty basis | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 37%                          | 38%                     | 15%                                  | 10%...100%    | 1525            |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Men                               | 37                           | 43                      | 15                                   | 5             | 659             |
| Women                             | 38                           | 34                      | 15                                   | 13            | 866             |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Elementary school                 | 39                           | 35                      | 16                                   | 10            | 1264            |
| Beyond elementary                 | 32                           | 48                      | 13                                   | 7             | 261             |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 30                           | 41                      | 13                                   | 16            | 160             |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 35                           | 36                      | 18                                   | 11            | 312             |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 41                           | 33                      | 16                                   | 10            | 366             |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 40                           | 40                      | 13                                   | 7             | 257             |
| 500 DM and more                   | 36                           | 42                      | 15                                   | 7             | 343             |
| No answer                         | 40                           | 30                      | 16                                   | 14            | 87              |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:©</u> |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Very active                       | 33                           | 42                      | 16                                   | 9             | 79              |
| Somewhat active                   | 40                           | 43                      | 13                                   | 4             | 411             |
| Remainder                         | 37                           | 35                      | 16                                   | 12            | 1035            |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Upper classes                     | 24                           | 62                      | 12                                   | 2             | 59              |
| Upper middle classes              | 38                           | 39                      | 13                                   | 10            | 380             |
| Lower middle classes              | 40                           | 34                      | 17                                   | 9             | 848             |
| Lower classes                     | 31                           | 40                      | 13                                   | 16            | 238             |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                    | 32                           | 39                      | 20                                   | 9             | 163             |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 43                           | 36                      | 17                                   | 4             | 355             |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 44                           | 30                      | 15                                   | 11            | 279             |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 39                           | 37                      | 14                                   | 10            | 323             |
| 55 years and above                | 28                           | 44                      | 13                                   | 15            | 405             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| SPD                               | 45                           | 34                      | 16                                   | 5             | 354             |
| CDU/CSU                           | 32                           | 40                      | 14                                   | 6             | 423             |
| FDP                               | 36                           | 46                      | 12                                   | 6             | 81              |
| Other parties                     | 39                           | 48                      | 9                                    | 4             | 79              |
| No party                          | 41                           | 28                      | 17                                   | 14            | 319             |
| No party preference stated        | 29                           | 32                      | 18                                   | 21            | 269             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Professionals                     | 25                           | 58                      | 10                                   | 7             | 40              |
| Businessmen                       | 29                           | 44                      | 14                                   | 13            | 86              |
| White-collar workers              | 40                           | 44                      | 10                                   | 6             | 144             |
| Skilled laborers                  | 43                           | 35                      | 17                                   | 5             | 221             |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 38                           | 38                      | 19                                   | 5             | 127             |
| Domestic service                  | 31                           | 33                      | 20                                   | 16            | 45              |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 31                           | 36                      | 23                                   | 10            | 112             |
| Housewives                        | 40                           | 33                      | 16                                   | 11            | 522             |
| Unemployed                        | 40                           | 46                      | 7                                    | 7             | 15              |
| Pensioners; retired               | 35                           | 39                      | 9                                    | 17            | 200             |
| Students, apprentices             | 15                           | 62                      | 23                                   | -             | 13              |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |                              |                         |                                      |               |                 |
| Catholics                         | 37                           | 39                      | 15                                   | 9             | 715             |
| Protestants                       | 36                           | 37                      | 13                                   | 11            | 755             |
| Others                            | 40                           | 41                      | 14                                   | 5             | 22              |
| No religion                       | 67                           | 21                      | 9                                    | 3             | 33              |

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|                        |          |         | <u>As occu-</u><br><u>pation</u><br><u>troops</u> | <u>As a</u><br><u>pro-</u><br><u>tection</u> | <u>Both - on</u><br><u>a fifty/</u><br><u>fifty basis</u> | <u>No</u><br><u>opinion</u> | <u>No. of</u><br><u>cases</u> |
|------------------------|----------|---------|---|--|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>         |          |         |   |  |   |                             |                               |
| Natives                |          |         | 38%   | 36%  | 16%   | 10%...100%                  | 1235                          |
| Expellees, refugees    |          |         | 32  | 44   | 14  | 10                          | 290                           |
| <u>City Size:</u>      |          |         |   |  |   |                             |                               |
| Up                     | to       | 1,999   | 36  | 36   | 19  | 9                           | 460                           |
| 2,000                  | to       | 4,999   | 37  | 33   | 19  | 11                          | 123                           |
| 5,000                  | to       | 24,999  | 36  | 41   | 14  | 9                           | 334                           |
| 25,000                 | to       | 99,999  | 39  | 39   | 13  | 9                           | 254                           |
| 100,000                | to       | 249,999 | 38  | 31   | 15  | 16                          | 138                           |
| 250,000                | and more |         | 42  | 39   | 10  | 9                           | 216                           |
| <u>Land:</u>           |          |         |   |  |   |                             |                               |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |          |         |   |  |   |                             |                               |
| Hamburg, Bremen        |          |         | 34  | 51   | 8   | 7                           | 165                           |
| Lower Saxony           |          |         | 35  | 34   | 20  | 11                          | 214                           |
| North Rhine/Westphalia |          |         | 35  | 40   | 14  | 11                          | 406                           |
| Hesse                  |          |         | 43  | 38   | 14  | 5                           | 166                           |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   |          |         | 47  | 21   | 24  | 8                           | 85                            |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden     |          |         | 40  | 24   | 23  | 13                          | 207                           |
| Bavaria                |          |         | 36  | 44   | 11  | 9                           | 282                           |

"Considering everything, does the presence of American troops in West Germany, in your opinion, mean more advantages or more disadvantages for us?"

|                                   | More<br>advant-<br>ages | More<br>dis-<br>advant-<br>ages | Neither/<br>nor | Both ad-<br>vant-<br>ages and dis-<br>advant-<br>ages | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 36%                     | 16%                             | 16%             | 13%   | 19%...100%    | 1525            |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Men                               | 46                      | 18                              | 15              | 13  | 8             | 659             |
| Women                             | 29                      | 15                              | 17              | 12  | 27            | 866             |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Elementary school                 | 34                      | 17                              | 17              | 12  | 20            | 1264            |
| Beyond elementary                 | 50                      | 12                              | 12              | 15  | 11            | 261             |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 33                      | 17                              | 12              | 9   | 29            | 160             |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 36                      | 13                              | 16              | 11  | 24            | 312             |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 32                      | 19                              | 19              | 15  | 15            | 366             |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 37                      | 20                              | 13              | 12  | 18            | 257             |
| 500 DM and more                   | 43                      | 15                              | 15              | 14  | 13            | 343             |
| No answer                         | 31                      | 14                              | 18              | 16  | 21            | 87              |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u> |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Very active                       | 54                      | 18                              | 9               | 14  | 5             | 79              |
| Somewhat active                   | 44                      | 20                              | 15              | 12  | 9             | 411             |
| Remainder                         | 32                      | 15                              | 17              | 13  | 23            | 1035            |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Upper classes                     | 56                      | 8                               | 15              | 14  | 7             | 59              |
| Upper middle classes              | 44                      | 16                              | 12              | 13  | 15            | 380             |
| Lower middle classes              | 34                      | 17                              | 17              | 13  | 19            | 848             |
| Lower classes                     | 30                      | 15                              | 18              | 11  | 26            | 238             |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                    | 42                      | 15                              | 15              | 13  | 15            | 163             |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 35                      | 18                              | 19              | 14  | 14            | 355             |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 34                      | 15                              | 19              | 12  | 20            | 279             |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 36                      | 18                              | 14              | 11  | 21            | 323             |
| 55 years and above                | 38                      | 15                              | 12              | 14  | 21            | 405             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| SPD                               | 35                      | 21                              | 18              | 14  | 12            | 354             |
| CDU/CSU                           | 47                      | 10                              | 15              | 14  | 14            | 423             |
| FDP                               | 40                      | 21                              | 15              | 16  | 8             | 81              |
| Other parties                     | 44                      | 23                              | 8               | 11  | 14            | 79              |
| No party                          | 31                      | 17                              | 20              | 10  | 22            | 319             |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 26                      | 16                              | 11              | 12  | 35            | 269             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Professionals                     | 55                      | 12                              | 10              | 15  | 8             | 40              |
| Businessmen                       | 43                      | 15                              | 18              | 15  | 9             | 86              |
| White-collar workers              | 46                      | 18                              | 12              | 12  | 12            | 144             |
| Skilled laborers                  | 40                      | 19                              | 17              | 14  | 10            | 221             |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 39                      | 13                              | 22              | 11  | 15            | 127             |
| Domestic service                  | 31                      | 7                               | 20              | 13  | 29            | 45              |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 39                      | 19                              | 16              | 13  | 13            | 112             |
| Housewives                        | 29                      | 16                              | 18              | 12  | 25            | 522             |
| Unemployed                        | 47                      | 20                              | 7               | 13  | 13            | 15              |
| Pensioners; retired               | 36                      | 17                              | 9               | 10  | 28            | 200             |
| Students; apprentices             | 46                      | 23                              | -               | 31  | -             | 13              |

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|  | More<br>advant-<br>ages | More<br>dis-<br>advant-<br>ages | Neither/<br>nor | Both ad-<br>vantages<br>and dis-<br>advant-<br>ages | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Religion:</u>                       |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Catholics                              | 37%                     | 14%                             | 16%             | 13%   | 20%...100%    | 715             |
| Protestants                            | 36                      | 17                              | 15              | 13  | 19            | 755             |
| Others                                 | 50                      | 23                              | -               | 13  | 14            | 22              |
| No religion                            | 37                      | 33                              | 18              | 9   | 3             | 33              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                         |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Natives                                | 35                      | 17                              | 16              | 13  | 19            | 1235            |
| Expellees, refugees                    | 43                      | 15                              | 13              | 11  | 18            | 290             |
| <u>City Size:</u>                      |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Up to 1,999                            | 33                      | 19                              | 15              | 14  | 19            | 460             |
| 2,000 to 4,999                         | 33                      | 14                              | 20              | 12  | 21            | 123             |
| 5,000 to 24,999                        | 37                      | 19                              | 13              | 13  | 18            | 334             |
| 25,000 to 99,999                       | 39                      | 13                              | 17              | 11  | 20            | 254             |
| 100,000 to 249,999                     | 39                      | 13                              | 17              | 11  | 20            | 138             |
| 250,000 and more                       | 42                      | 14                              | 15              | 14  | 15            | 216             |
| <u>Land:</u>                           |                         |                                 |                 |   |               |                 |
| Schleswig/Holstein,<br>Hamburg, Bremen | 55                      | 14                              | 6               | 9   | 16            | 165             |
| Lower Saxony                           | 31                      | 28                              | 13              | 7   | 21            | 214             |
| North Rhine/Westphalia                 | 39                      | 12                              | 16              | 12  | 21            | 406             |
| Hesse                                  | 35                      | 18                              | 19              | 16  | 12            | 166             |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                   | 28                      | 10                              | 23              | 13  | 26            | 85              |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                     | 26                      | 16                              | 14              | 19  | 25            | 207             |
| Bavaria                                | 37                      | 16                              | 21              | 14  | 12            | 282             |

"Can you tell me whether or not any economic and commercial contacts or relations exist between the German population and the American soldiers?"

|                                   | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 17%        | 24%       | 59%...100%        | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |            |           |                   |                     |
| Men                               | 23         | 27        | 50                | 659                 |
| Women                             | 14         | 20        | 66                | 866                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |            |           |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                 | 15         | 23        | 62                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                 | 28         | 26        | 46                | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 14         | 22        | 64                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 14         | 22        | 64                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 16         | 23        | 61                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 18         | 24        | 58                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                   | 23         | 29        | 48                | 343                 |
| No answer                         | 15         | 15        | 70                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:©</u> |            |           |                   |                     |
| Very active                       | 26         | 23        | 51                | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                   | 22         | 24        | 54                | 411                 |
| Remainder                         | 15         | 24        | 61                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |            |           |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                     | 34         | 29        | 37                | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes              | 23         | 20        | 57                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes              | 15         | 24        | 61                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                     | 14         | 25        | 61                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                    | 23         | 28        | 49                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 20         | 21        | 59                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 21         | 22        | 57                | 279                 |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 14         | 25        | 61                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above                | 13         | 23        | 64                | 405                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |            |           |                   |                     |
| SPD                               | 18         | 28        | 54                | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                           | 17         | 23        | 60                | 423                 |
| FDP                               | 27         | 30        | 43                | 81                  |
| Other parties                     | 18         | 29        | 53                | 79                  |
| No party                          | 18         | 27        | 55                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated        | 14         | 10        | 76                | 269                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |            |           |                   |                     |
| Professionals                     | 37         | 10        | 53                | 40                  |
| Businessmen                       | 32         | 26        | 42                | 86                  |
| White-collar workers              | 24         | 29        | 47                | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                  | 23         | 29        | 48                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 14         | 29        | 57                | 127                 |
| Domestic service                  | 18         | 24        | 58                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 11         | 24        | 65                | 112                 |
| Housewives                        | 12         | 21        | 67                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                        | 33         | 33        | 34                | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired               | 13         | 19        | 68                | 200                 |
| Students; apprentices             | 38         | 31        | 31                | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |            |           |                   |                     |
| Catholics                         | 15         | 26        | 59                | 715                 |
| Protestants                       | 19         | 22        | 59                | 755                 |
| Others                            | 18         | 9         | 73                | 22                  |
| No religion                       | 21         | 24        | 55                | 33                  |

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|                              | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>               |            |           |                   |                     |
| Natives                      | 17%        | 24%       | 59%...100%        | 1235                |
| Expellees, refugees          | 19         | 21        | 60                | 290                 |
| <u>City Size:</u>            |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 1,999                  | 16         | 21        | 63                | 460                 |
| 2,000 to 4,999               | 18         | 15        | 67                | 123                 |
| 5,000 to 24,999              | 15         | 22        | 63                | 334                 |
| 25,000 to 99,999             | 24         | 20        | 56                | 254                 |
| 100,000 to 249,999           | 19         | 27        | 54                | 138                 |
| 250,000 and more             | 15         | 38        | 47                | 216                 |
| <u>Land:</u>                 |            |           |                   |                     |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, |            |           |                   |                     |
| Bremen                       | 27         | 17        | 56                | 165                 |
| Lower Saxony                 | 11         | 15        | 74                | 214                 |
| North Rhine/Westphalia       | 10         | 24        | 66                | 406                 |
| Hesse                        | 26         | 30        | 44                | 166                 |
| Rhineland/Palatinate         | 27         | 20        | 53                | 85                  |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden           | 18         | 18        | 64                | 207                 |
| Bavaria                      | 19         | 35        | 46                | 282                 |

"Can you tell me whether or not any cultural contacts or relations exist between the German population and the American soldiers?"

|                                   | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 18%        | 21%       | 61%...100%        | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |            |           |                   |                     |
| Men                               | 23         | 23        | 54                | 659                 |
| Women                             | 14         | 20        | 66                | 866                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |            |           |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                 | 15         | 21        | 64                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                 | 34         | 22        | 44                | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 9          | 24        | 67                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 14         | 20        | 66                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 20         | 19        | 61                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 20         | 19        | 61                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                   | 24         | 25        | 51                | 343                 |
| No answer                         | 11         | 24        | 65                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |            |           |                   |                     |
| Very active                       | 26         | 27        | 47                | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                   | 23         | 20        | 57                | 411                 |
| Remainder                         | 15         | 22        | 63                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |            |           |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                     | 39         | 29        | 32                | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes              | 24         | 19        | 57                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes              | 15         | 22        | 63                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                     | 10         | 23        | 67                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                    | 19         | 27        | 54                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 21         | 18        | 61                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 19         | 24        | 57                | 279                 |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 19         | 21        | 60                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above                | 14         | 20        | 66                | 405                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |            |           |                   |                     |
| SPD                               | 21         | 25        | 54                | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                           | 19         | 20        | 61                | 423                 |
| FDP                               | 29         | 26        | 45                | 81                  |
| Other parties                     | 25         | 18        | 57                | 79                  |
| No party                          | 15         | 28        | 57                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated        | 11         | 10        | 79                | 269                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |            |           |                   |                     |
| Professionals                     | 30         | 17        | 53                | 40                  |
| Businessmen                       | 29         | 28        | 43                | 86                  |
| White-collar workers              | 25         | 24        | 51                | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                  | 22         | 26        | 52                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 14         | 22        | 64                | 127                 |
| Domestic service                  | 16         | 22        | 62                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 13         | 22        | 65                | 112                 |
| Housewives                        | 15         | 19        | 66                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                        | 27         | 40        | 33                | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired               | 12         | 17        | 71                | 200                 |
| Students; apprentices             | 54         | 23        | 23                | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |            |           |                   |                     |
| Catholics                         | 16         | 21        | 63                | 715                 |
| Protestants                       | 18         | 22        | 60                | 755                 |
| Others                            | 18         | 27        | 55                | 22                  |
| No religion                       | 39         | 12        | 49                | 33                  |

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|                                     | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>                      |            |           |                   |                     |
| Natives                             | 18%        | 22%       | 60%...100%        | 1235                |
| Expellees, refugees                 | 17         | 20        | 63                | 290                 |
| <u>City Size:</u>                   |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 1,999                         | 15         | 20        | 65                | 460                 |
| 2,000 to 4,999                      | 16         | 11        | 73                | 123                 |
| 5,000 to 24,999                     | 12         | 18        | 70                | 334                 |
| 25,000 to 99,999                    | 25         | 21        | 54                | 254                 |
| 100,000 to 249,999                  | 27         | 20        | 53                | 138                 |
| 250,000 and more                    | 20         | 36        | 44                | 216                 |
| <u>Land:</u>                        |            |           |                   |                     |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen | 31         | 15        | 54                | 165                 |
| Lower Saxony                        | 12         | 13        | 75                | 214                 |
| North Rhine/Westphalia              | 13         | 19        | 68                | 406                 |
| Hesse                               | 28         | 26        | 46                | 166                 |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                | 19         | 28        | 53                | 85                  |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                  | 14         | 18        | 68                | 207                 |
| Bavaria                             | 20         | 32        | 48                | 282                 |

"Can you tell me whether or not any social contacts or relations exist between the German population and the American soldiers?"

|                                  | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|----------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>        | 22%        | 20%       | 58%..100%         | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                      |            |           |                   |                     |
| Men                              | 23         | 23        | 54                | 659                 |
| Women                            | 21         | 18        | 61                | 866                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                |            |           |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                | 19         | 20        | 61                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                | 36         | 20        | 44                | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                   |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                     | 14         | 22        | 64                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                    | 20         | 18        | 62                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                    | 22         | 19        | 59                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                    | 20         | 20        | 60                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                  | 29         | 25        | 46                | 343                 |
| No answer                        | 18         | 15        | 67                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> |            |           |                   |                     |
| Very active                      | 21         | 23        | 56                | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                  | 27         | 17        | 56                | 411                 |
| Remainder                        | 20         | 21        | 59                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>    |            |           |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                    | 42         | 22        | 36                | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes             | 26         | 19        | 55                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes             | 21         | 19        | 60                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                    | 15         | 24        | 61                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                      |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                   | 29         | 21        | 50                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                   | 27         | 17        | 56                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                   | 21         | 25        | 54                | 279                 |
| 45 to 54 years                   | 22         | 19        | 59                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above               | 14         | 20        | 66                | 405                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>         |            |           |                   |                     |
| SPD                              | 28         | 23        | 49                | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                          | 23         | 19        | 58                | 423                 |
| FDP                              | 27         | 27        | 46                | 81                  |
| Other parties                    | 30         | 23        | 47                | 79                  |
| No party                         | 15         | 26        | 59                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated       | 16         | 9         | 75                | 269                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>               |            |           |                   |                     |
| Professionals                    | 38         | 12        | 50                | 40                  |
| Businessmen                      | 30         | 26        | 44                | 86                  |
| White-collar workers             | 26         | 25        | 49                | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                 | 24         | 22        | 54                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers            | 24         | 20        | 56                | 127                 |
| Domestic service                 | 24         | 25        | 51                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands               | 19         | 20        | 61                | 112                 |
| Housewives                       | 19         | 18        | 63                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                       | 33         | 33        | 34                | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired              | 15         | 17        | 68                | 200                 |
| Students, apprentices            | 54         | 15        | 31                | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                 |            |           |                   |                     |
| Catholics                        | 19         | 22        | 59                | 715                 |
| Protestants                      | 24         | 18        | 58                | 755                 |
| Others                           | 32         | 5         | 63                | 22                  |
| No religion                      | 27         | 21        | 52                | 33                  |

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|                                     | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Don't know</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>                      |            |           |                   |                     |
| Natives                             | 22%        | 20%       | 58%..100%         | 1235                |
| Refugees, expellees                 | 21         | 20        | 59                | 290                 |
| <u>City Size:</u>                   |            |           |                   |                     |
| Up to 1,999                         | 23         | 18        | 59                | 460                 |
| 2,000 to 4,999                      | 19         | 11        | 70                | 123                 |
| 5,000 to 24,999                     | 17         | 17        | 66                | 334                 |
| 25,000 to 99,999                    | 28         | 18        | 54                | 254                 |
| 100,000 to 249,999                  | 29         | 20        | 51                | 138                 |
| 250,000 and more                    | 17         | 36        | 47                | 216                 |
| <u>Land:</u>                        |            |           |                   |                     |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen | 33         | 12        | 55                | 165                 |
| Lower Saxony                        | 15         | 10        | 75                | 214                 |
| North Rhine/Westphalia              | 16         | 18        | 66                | 406                 |
| Hesse                               | 32         | 26        | 42                | 166                 |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                | 19         | 22        | 59                | 85                  |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                  | 24         | 16        | 60                | 207                 |
| Bavaria                             | 21         | 35        | 44                | 282                 |

"Just imagine your daughter, sister, or some other close female, would want to marry an American soldier, would you like to see that happen, or wouldn't you? (Do you like the idea very much or just somewhat?)(Don't you like the idea too much or are you very much against it?)"

|                                   | Like<br>the<br>idea<br>very<br>much | Like<br>it<br>just<br>some-<br>what | Don't<br>like<br>it too<br>much | I'm<br>very<br>much<br>against<br>it | I<br>don't<br>care | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases: |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 2%                                  | 11%                                 | 27%                             | 15%                                  | 35%                | 10%..100%     | 1525             |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Men                               | 1                                   | 12                                  | 24                              | 16                                   | 37                 | 10            | 659              |
| Women                             | 2                                   | 11                                  | 29                              | 15                                   | 33                 | 10            | 866              |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Elementary school                 | 2                                   | 10                                  | 27                              | 17                                   | 35                 | 9             | 1264             |
| Beyond elementary                 | 2                                   | 13                                  | 27                              | 8                                    | 37                 | 13            | 261              |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 4                                   | 11                                  | 28                              | 12                                   | 29                 | 16            | 160              |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 2                                   | 12                                  | 28                              | 18                                   | 32                 | 8             | 312              |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 2                                   | 12                                  | 26                              | 16                                   | 37                 | 7             | 366              |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | *                                   | 10                                  | 29                              | 15                                   | 37                 | 9             | 257              |
| 500 DM and more                   | 2                                   | 11                                  | 28                              | 13                                   | 36                 | 10            | 343              |
| No answer                         | 1                                   | 5                                   | 16                              | 21                                   | 45                 | 12            | 87               |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Very active                       | 4                                   | 11                                  | 31                              | 20                                   | 29                 | 5             | 79               |
| Somewhat active                   | 2                                   | 9                                   | 28                              | 16                                   | 36                 | 9             | 411              |
| Remainder                         | 2                                   | 12                                  | 26                              | 15                                   | 35                 | 10            | 1035             |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Upper classes                     | -                                   | 14                                  | 24                              | 12                                   | 37                 | 13            | 59               |
| Upper middle classes              | 2                                   | 10                                  | 28                              | 14                                   | 34                 | 12            | 380              |
| Lower middle classes              | 2                                   | 10                                  | 27                              | 17                                   | 36                 | 8             | 848              |
| Lower classes                     | 3                                   | 16                                  | 26                              | 14                                   | 31                 | 10            | 238              |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Up to 24 years                    | 4                                   | 13                                  | 17                              | 9                                    | 43                 | 14            | 163              |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 1                                   | 7                                   | 27                              | 14                                   | 42                 | 9             | 355              |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 2                                   | 11                                  | 28                              | 15                                   | 35                 | 9             | 279              |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 1                                   | 12                                  | 27                              | 18                                   | 33                 | 9             | 323              |
| 55 years and above                | 3                                   | 12                                  | 29                              | 18                                   | 28                 | 10            | 405              |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| SPD                               | 2                                   | 14                                  | 25                              | 15                                   | 38                 | 6             | 354              |
| CDU/CSU                           | 2                                   | 12                                  | 32                              | 12                                   | 34                 | 8             | 423              |
| FDP                               | 1                                   | 7                                   | 34                              | 17                                   | 29                 | 12            | 81               |
| Other parties                     | 4                                   | 10                                  | 33                              | 21                                   | 24                 | 8             | 79               |
| No party                          | 2                                   | 9                                   | 23                              | 20                                   | 38                 | 8             | 319              |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 1                                   | 8                                   | 20                              | 16                                   | 35                 | 20            | 269              |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                  |
| Professionals                     | -                                   | 23                                  | 20                              | 15                                   | 40                 | 2             | 40               |
| Businessmen                       | 3                                   | 14                                  | 20                              | 14                                   | 37                 | 12            | 86               |
| White-collar workers              | 2                                   | 8                                   | 34                              | 11                                   | 36                 | 9             | 144              |
| Skilled laborers                  | 1                                   | 11                                  | 24                              | 16                                   | 40                 | 8             | 221              |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 2                                   | 13                                  | 20                              | 15                                   | 45                 | 5             | 127              |
| Domestic service                  | 4                                   | 20                                  | 16                              | 13                                   | 27                 | 20            | 45               |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 2                                   | 11                                  | 28                              | 26                                   | 25                 | 8             | 112              |
| Housewives                        | 2                                   | 9                                   | 31                              | 16                                   | 32                 | 10            | 522              |
| Unemployed                        | 13                                  | 20                                  | 14                              | 7                                    | 33                 | 13            | 15               |
| Pensioners, retired               | 1                                   | 11                                  | 25                              | 15                                   | 36                 | 12            | 200              |
| Students, apprentices             | -                                   | 15                                  | 23                              | 8                                    | 31                 | 23            | 13               |

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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

® Determined by political and organizational participation.



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|  | Like<br>the<br>idea<br>very<br>much | Like<br>it<br>just<br>some-<br>what | Don't<br>like<br>it too<br>much | I'm<br>very<br>much<br>against<br>it | I<br>don't<br>care | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Religion:</u>                       |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                 |
| Catholics                              | 2%                                  | 11%                                 | 25%                             | 16%                                  | 35%                | 11%..100%     | 715             |
| Protestants                            | 2                                   | 10                                  | 29                              | 15                                   | 35                 | 9             | 755             |
| Others                                 | 9                                   | 5                                   | 36                              | 18                                   | 27                 | 5             | 22              |
| No religion                            | -                                   | 24                                  | 9                               | 21                                   | 46                 | -             | 33              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                         |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                 |
| Natives                                | 1                                   | 11                                  | 27                              | 16                                   | 35                 | 10            | 1235            |
| Expellees, refugees                    | 4                                   | 11                                  | 25                              | 13                                   | 37                 | 10            | 290             |
| <u>City Size:</u>                      |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                 |
| Up to 1,999                            | 1                                   | 8                                   | 28                              | 19                                   | 35                 | 9             | 460             |
| 2,000 to 4,999                         | 1                                   | 7                                   | 23                              | 23                                   | 35                 | 11            | 123             |
| 5,000 to 24,999                        | 2                                   | 14                                  | 23                              | 13                                   | 40                 | 8             | 334             |
| 25,000 to 99,999                       | 4                                   | 12                                  | 27                              | 12                                   | 31                 | 14            | 254             |
| 100,000 to 249,999                     | 2                                   | 13                                  | 31                              | 17                                   | 33                 | 4             | 138             |
| 250,000 and more                       | 1                                   | 12                                  | 30                              | 9                                    | 36                 | 12            | 216             |
| <u>Land:</u>                           |                                     |                                     |                                 |                                      |                    |               |                 |
| Schleswig/Holstein,<br>Hamburg, Bremen | 2                                   | 14                                  | 28                              | 11                                   | 41                 | 4             | 165             |
| Lower Saxony                           | 3                                   | 3                                   | 32                              | 17                                   | 38                 | 7             | 214             |
| North Rhine/West-<br>phalia            | 3                                   | 14                                  | 25                              | 11                                   | 38                 | 9             | 406             |
| Hesse                                  | 2                                   | 12                                  | 33                              | 16                                   | 29                 | 8             | 166             |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                   | -                                   | 6                                   | 23                              | 19                                   | 28                 | 24            | 85              |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                     | *                                   | 9                                   | 18                              | 18                                   | 39                 | 16            | 207             |
| Bavaria                                | 2                                   | 12                                  | 28                              | 21                                   | 30                 | 7             | 282             |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"All in all, in your opinion, who, as an individual soldier, makes the best fighter?"

|                                   | Ameri-<br>cans | British | Germans | Russians | French | No<br>opinion | No.<br>of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------|---------|----------|--------|---------------|--------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 3%             | 1%      | 75%     | 4%       | *%     | 17%..100%     | 1525               |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Men                               | 3              | 1       | 80      | 6        | *      | 10            | 659                |
| Women                             | 3              | *       | 72      | 3        | -      | 22            | 866                |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Elementary school                 | 3              | 1       | 76      | 3        | -      | 17            | 1264               |
| Beyond elementary                 | 2              | 1       | 72      | 8        | *      | 17            | 261                |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 4              | -       | 72      | 1        | *      | 23            | 160                |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 2              | 1       | 79      | 1        | -      | 17            | 312                |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 2              | *       | 76      | 5        | -      | 17            | 366                |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 4              | 1       | 79      | 6        | -      | 10            | 257                |
| 500 DM and more                   | 3              | 1       | 74      | 7        | -      | 15            | 343                |
| No answer                         | 1              | 1       | 68      | 3        | -      | 27            | 87                 |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Very active                       | 4              | 3       | 69      | 8        | -      | 16            | 79                 |
| Somewhat active                   | 1              | 1       | 81      | 6        | -      | 11            | 411                |
| Remainder                         | 3              | 1       | 73      | 3        | 1      | 19            | 1035               |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Upper classes                     | 2              | 2       | 73      | 10       | -      | 13            | 59                 |
| Upper middle classes              | 2              | 1       | 76      | 6        | *      | 15            | 380                |
| Lower middle classes              | 3              | 1       | 76      | 3        | -      | 17            | 848                |
| Lower classes                     | 2              | *       | 76      | 3        | -      | 19            | 238                |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Up to 24 years                    | 4              | -       | 72      | 4        | -      | 20            | 163                |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 3              | 1       | 76      | 6        | -      | 14            | 355                |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 1              | *       | 76      | 7        | -      | 16            | 279                |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 2              | 1       | 76      | 3        | -      | 18            | 323                |
| 55 years and above                | 4              | 1       | 76      | 2        | *      | 17            | 405                |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| SPD                               | 2              | 1       | 83      | 6        | -      | 8             | 354                |
| CDU/CSU                           | 5              | 1       | 80      | 3        | -      | 11            | 423                |
| FDP                               | *              | 2       | 84      | 5        | -      | 9             | 81                 |
| Other parties                     | 1              | 1       | 84      | 3        | -      | 11            | 79                 |
| No party                          | 2              | 1       | 71      | 6        | *      | 20            | 319                |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 1              | *       | 60      | 3        | -      | 36            | 269                |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Professionals                     | 3              | -       | 70      | 10       | -      | 17            | 40                 |
| Businessmen                       | 3              | 2       | 79      | 5        | -      | 11            | 86                 |
| White-collar workers              | 2              | 1       | 75      | 10       | -      | 12            | 144                |
| Skilled laborers                  | 3              | 1       | 79      | 5        | -      | 12            | 221                |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 2              | 1       | 75      | 7        | -      | 15            | 127                |
| Domestic service                  | 2              | -       | 67      | 4        | -      | 27            | 45                 |
| Farmers, farmhands                | -              | 2       | 81      | 5        | -      | 12            | 112                |
| Housewives                        | 3              | 2       | 56      | 19       | -      | 20            | 522                |
| Unemployed                        | -              | -       | 87      | -        | -      | 13            | 15                 |
| Pensioners; retired               | 3              | 1       | 72      | 2        | 1      | 21            | 200                |
| Students; apprentices             | -              | -       | 69      | 8        | -      | 23            | 13                 |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Catholics                         | 3              | 1       | 73      | 4        | -      | 19            | 715                |
| Protestants                       | 1              | 1       | 77      | 5        | -      | 16            | 755                |
| Others                            | -              | -       | 72      | -        | 5      | 23            | 22                 |
| No religion                       | 12             | 3       | 70      | 9        | -      | 6             | 33                 |

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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

® Determined by political and organizational participation.

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|                        | <u>Ameri-</u><br><u>cans</u> | <u>British</u> | <u>Germans</u> | <u>Russians</u> | <u>French</u> | <u>No</u><br><u>opinion</u> | <u>No.</u><br><u>of</u><br><u>cases</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---|
| <u>Origin:</u>         |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Natives                | 2%                           | 1%             | 76%            | 4%              | *%            | 17%..100%                   | 1235                                    |
| Expellees, refugees    | 3                            | 1              | 74             | 5               | -             | 17                          | 290                                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Up to 1,999            | 1                            | 1              | 73             | 3               | -             | 22                          | 460                                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999         | -                            | 2              | 79             | 2               | -             | 17                          | 123                                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999        | 5                            | *              | 74             | 5               | -             | 16                          | 334                                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999       | 2                            | 1              | 77             | 5               | -             | 15                          | 254                                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999     | 2                            | 1              | 84             | 4               | -             | 9                           | 138                                     |
| 250,000 and more       | 4                            | 1              | 75             | 5               | *             | 15                          | 216                                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 1                            | 1              | 89             | 3               | -             | 6                           | 165                                     |
| Lower Saxony           | 1                            | -              | 76             | 4               | -             | 19                          | 214                                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 4                            | *              | 77             | 4               | 1             | 14                          | 406                                     |
| Hesse                  | 1                            | 1              | 76             | 6               | -             | 16                          | 166                                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | -                            | -              | 80             | -               | -             | 20                          | 85                                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden     | 4                            | 1              | 65             | 6               | -             | 24                          | 207                                     |
| Bavaria                | 3                            | 2              | 72             | 4               | -             | 19                          | 282                                     |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"And who is in second place?"

|                                   | Ameri-<br>cans | British | Germans | Russians | French | No<br>opinion | No.<br>of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------|---------|----------|--------|---------------|--------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 16%            | 14%     | 6%      | 33%      | 5%     | 26%, 100%     | 1525               |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Men                               | 14             | 16      | 8       | 41       | 6      | 15            | 659                |
| Women                             | 18             | 12      | 4       | 28       | 3      | 35            | 866                |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Elementary school                 | 18             | 12      | 5       | 34       | 4      | 27            | 1264               |
| Beyond elementary                 | 10             | 20      | 10      | 34       | 5      | 21            | 261                |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 21             | 15      | 2       | 18       | 8      | 36            | 160                |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 21             | 12      | 3       | 27       | 6      | 31            | 312                |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 16             | 11      | 6       | 38       | 4      | 25            | 366                |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 17             | 14      | 9       | 41       | 2      | 17            | 257                |
| 500 DM and more                   | 11             | 18      | 9       | 36       | 6      | 20            | 343                |
| No answer                         | 9              | 11      | 3       | 31       | 2      | 44            | 87                 |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:*</u> |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Very active                       | 10             | 19      | 8       | 34       | 8      | 21            | 79                 |
| Somewhat active                   | 17             | 15      | 7       | 39       | 4      | 18            | 411                |
| Remainder                         | 17             | 13      | 5       | 31       | 4      | 30            | 1035               |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Upper classes                     | 3              | 19      | 12      | 37       | 7      | 22            | 59                 |
| Upper middle classes              | 12             | 17      | 7       | 38       | 4      | 22            | 380                |
| Lower middle classes              | 18             | 13      | 6       | 34       | 4      | 25            | 848                |
| Lower classes                     | 20             | 12      | 3       | 23       | 5      | 37            | 238                |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Up to 24 years                    | 14             | 16      | 6       | 36       | 2      | 26            | 163                |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 13             | 13      | 8       | 44       | 1      | 21            | 355                |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 16             | 11      | 8       | 40       | 3      | 22            | 279                |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 20             | 11      | 6       | 30       | 4      | 29            | 323                |
| 55 years and over                 | 16             | 18      | 4       | 21       | 9      | 32            | 405                |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| SPD                               | 18             | 17      | 7       | 38       | 5      | 15            | 354                |
| CDU/CSU                           | 18             | 16      | 7       | 32       | 6      | 21            | 423                |
| FDP                               | 14             | 16      | 5       | 44       | 7      | 14            | 81                 |
| Other parties                     | 14             | 17      | 6       | 43       | 5      | 15            | 79                 |
| No party                          | 15             | 10      | 7       | 32       | 4      | 32            | 319                |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 13             | 9       | 4       | 23       | 2      | 49            | 269                |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Professionals                     | 10             | 18      | 12      | 30       | 7      | 23            | 40                 |
| Businessmen                       | 16             | 13      | 3       | 42       | 7      | 19            | 86                 |
| White-collar workers              | 12             | 22      | 10      | 39       | 3      | 14            | 144                |
| Skilled laborers                  | 14             | 16      | 8       | 41       | 3      | 18            | 221                |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 21             | 11      | 9       | 35       | 3      | 21            | 127                |
| Domestic service                  | 14             | 20      | 4       | 29       | 4      | 29            | 45                 |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 13             | 7       | 5       | 47       | 6      | 22            | 112                |
| Housewives                        | 18             | 12      | 4       | 30       | 3      | 33            | 522                |
| Unemployed                        | 20             | 13      | -       | 54       | -      | 13            | 15                 |
| Pensioners; retired               | 18             | 14      | 5       | 19       | 9      | 35            | 200                |
| Students; apprentices             | 15             | 15      | 16      | 31       | -      | 23            | 13                 |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Catholics                         | 15             | 13      | 6       | 31       | 5      | 30            | 715                |
| Protestants                       | 17             | 14      | 6       | 36       | 4      | 23            | 755                |
| Others                            | 14             | 32      | -       | 27       | 5      | 22            | 22                 |
| No religion                       | 21             | 12      | 15      | 40       | 3      | 9             | 33                 |

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\* Determined by political and organizational participation.

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|                        | <u>Ameri-</u><br><u>cans</u> | <u>British</u> | <u>Germans</u> | <u>Russians</u> | <u>French</u> | <u>No</u><br><u>opinion</u> | <u>No.</u><br><u>of</u><br><u>cases</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---|
| <u>Origin:</u>         |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Natives                | 16%                          | 14%            | 6%             | 33%             | 5%            | 26%.100%                    | 1235                                    |
| Expellees, refugees    | 18                           | 12             | 7              | 35              | 3             | 25                          | 290                                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Up to 1,999            | 13                           | 13             | 4              | 35              | 5             | 30                          | 460                                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999         | 10                           | 19             | 2              | 30              | 4             | 35                          | 123                                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999        | 18                           | 15             | 10             | 32              | 4             | 21                          | 334                                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999       | 17                           | 14             | 7              | 31              | 4             | 27                          | 254                                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999     | 23                           | 7              | 4              | 41              | 5             | 20                          | 138                                     |
| 250,000 and more       | 19                           | 14             | 8              | 31              | 5             | 23                          | 216                                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 19                           | 19             | 5              | 38              | 6             | 13                          | 165                                     |
| Lower Saxony           | 16                           | 9              | 4              | 42              | 5             | 24                          | 214                                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 19                           | 12             | 6              | 32              | 5             | 26                          | 406                                     |
| Hesse                  | 10                           | 15             | 5              | 38              | 4             | 28                          | 166                                     |
| Rhineland/             |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Palatinate             | 14                           | 22             | -              | 26              | 5             | 33                          | 85                                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden     | 17                           | 12             | 10             | 24              | 2             | 35                          | 207                                     |
| Bavaria                | 14                           | 14             | 7              | 34              | 5             | 26                          | 282                                     |

"And who is in last place?"

|                                   | Ameri-<br>cans | British | Germans | Russians | French | No<br>opinion | No.<br>of<br>cases |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---------|---------|----------|--------|---------------|--------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 16%            | 9%      | *%      | 9%       | 38%    | 28%.100%      | 1525               |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Men                               | 20             | 10      | *       | 9        | 44     | 17            | 659                |
| Women                             | 12             | 8       | *       | 8        | 34     | 38            | 866                |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Elementary school                 | 15             | 9       | 1       | 9        | 37     | 29            | 1264               |
| Beyond elementary                 | 17             | 11      | -       | 8        | 41     | 23            | 261                |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 9              | 9       | 1       | 12       | 26     | 43            | 160                |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 14             | 8       | *       | 10       | 36     | 32            | 312                |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 17             | 8       | -       | 9        | 38     | 28            | 366                |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 16             | 10      | 1       | 7        | 47     | 19            | 257                |
| 500 DM and more                   | 17             | 11      | 1       | 6        | 42     | 23            | 343                |
| No answer                         | 14             | 7       | -       | 7        | 30     | 42            | 87                 |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u> |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Very active                       | 20             | 11      | 1       | 12       | 34     | 22            | 79                 |
| Somewhat active                   | 20             | 10      | *       | 7        | 44     | 19            | 411                |
| Remainder                         | 13             | 8       | 1       | 9        | 36     | 33            | 1035               |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Upper classes                     | 24             | 15      | -       | 5        | 39     | 17            | 59                 |
| Upper middle classes              | 15             | 11      | *       | 6        | 41     | 27            | 380                |
| Lower middle classes              | 16             | 8       | 1       | 9        | 39     | 27            | 848                |
| Lower classes                     | 13             | 9       | *       | 10       | 28     | 40            | 238                |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Up to 24 years                    | 20             | 6       | 1       | 10       | 33     | 30            | 163                |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 14             | 9       | 1       | 7        | 45     | 24            | 355                |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 16             | 11      | -       | 6        | 42     | 25            | 279                |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 17             | 9       | *       | 8        | 36     | 30            | 323                |
| 55 years and above                | 12             | 10      | *       | 13       | 32     | 33            | 405                |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| SPD                               | 16             | 12      | 1       | 9        | 44     | 18            | 354                |
| CDU/CSU                           | 16             | 8       | 1       | 13       | 39     | 23            | 423                |
| FDP                               | 20             | 7       | 1       | 8        | 47     | 17            | 81                 |
| Other parties                     | 18             | 15      | -       | 9        | 40     | 18            | 79                 |
| No party                          | 18             | 10      | *       | 5        | 35     | 32            | 319                |
| No party preference<br>stated     | 10             | 5       | -       | 6        | 27     | 52            | 269                |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Professionals                     | 23             | 12      | -       | 5        | 35     | 25            | 40                 |
| Businessmen                       | 17             | 13      | 2       | 7        | 43     | 18            | 86                 |
| White-collar workers              | 16             | 9       | -       | 6        | 50     | 19            | 144                |
| Skilled laborers                  | 19             | 11      | 1       | 7        | 42     | 20            | 221                |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 19             | 10      | 1       | 9        | 40     | 21            | 127                |
| Domestic service                  | 16             | 4       | 2       | 9        | 31     | 38            | 45                 |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 19             | 11      | 1       | 9        | 36     | 24            | 112                |
| Housewives                        | 13             | 7       | -       | 8        | 36     | 36            | 522                |
| Unemployed                        | 20             | 7       | -       | 6        | 54     | 13            | 15                 |
| Pensioners; retired               | 11             | 8       | -       | 14       | 29     | 38            | 200                |
| Students; apprentices             | 23             | -       | -       | 15       | 39     | 23            | 13                 |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |                |         |         |          |        |               |                    |
| Catholics                         | 14             | 9       | *       | 10       | 36     | 31            | 715                |
| Protestants                       | 16             | 9       | 1       | 7        | 40     | 27            | 755                |
| Others                            | 18             | 9       | -       | 9        | 37     | 27            | 22                 |
| No religion                       | 24             | 6       | -       | 6        | 52     | 12            | 33                 |

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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Determined by political and organization participation.

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|                     | <u>Ameri-</u><br><u>cans</u> | <u>British</u> | <u>Germans</u> | <u>Russians</u> | <u>French</u> | <u>No</u><br><u>opinion</u> | <u>No.</u><br><u>of</u><br><u>cases</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---|
| <u>Origin:</u>      |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Natives             | 15%                          | 9%             | *%             | 9%              | 38%           | 29%.100%                    | 1235                                    |
| Expellees, refugees | 17                           | 8              | 1              | 7               | 39            | 28                          | 290                                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>   |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Up to 1,999         | 13                           | 11             | *              | 9               | 34            | 33                          | 460                                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999      | 19                           | 6              | -              | 9               | 35            | 31                          | 123                                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999     | 17                           | 9              | 1              | 10              | 39            | 24                          | 334                                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999    | 13                           | 9              | 1              | 8               | 39            | 30                          | 254                                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999  | 21                           | 7              | -              | 8               | 45            | 19                          | 138                                     |
| 250,000 and more    | 16                           | 9              | -              | 7               | 40            | 28                          | 216                                     |
| <u>Land:</u>        |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Schleswig/Holstein, |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Hamburg, Bremen     | 20                           | 10             | -              | 12              | 39            | 19                          | 165                                     |
| Lower Saxony        | 13                           | 13             | -              | 8               | 39            | 27                          | 214                                     |
| North Rhine/        |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Westphalia          | 14                           | 9              | 1              | 8               | 39            | 29                          | 406                                     |
| Hesse               | 18                           | 6              | 1              | 7               | 43            | 25                          | 166                                     |
| Rhineland/          |                              |                |                |                 |               |                             |   |
| Palatinate          | 18                           | 8              | -              | 8               | 29            | 37                          | 85                                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden  | 15                           | 4              | *              | 11              | 39            | 31                          | 207                                     |
| Bavaria             | 15                           | 11             | *              | 7               | 34            | 33                          | 282                                     |

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now will fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

|                                   | <u>Well</u> | <u>Fairly well</u> | <u>Poorly</u> | <u>Un-decided</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 38%         | 19%                | 16%           | 27%...100%        | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Men                               | 40          | 22                 | 19            | 19                | 659                 |
| Women                             | 37          | 16                 | 13            | 34                | 866                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                 | 37          | 19                 | 15            | 29                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                 | 47          | 17                 | 16            | 20                | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 38          | 13                 | 11            | 38                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 40          | 19                 | 13            | 28                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 34          | 20                 | 16            | 30                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 38          | 21                 | 18            | 23                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                   | 43          | 18                 | 18            | 21                | 343                 |
| No answer                         | 32          | 12                 | 21            | 35                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:@</u> |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Very active                       | 51          | 14                 | 24            | 11                | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                   | 40          | 23                 | 19            | 18                | 411                 |
| Remainder                         | 37          | 17                 | 14            | 32                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                     | 50          | 21                 | 14            | 15                | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes              | 39          | 17                 | 19            | 25                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes              | 38          | 19                 | 16            | 27                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                     | 36          | 16                 | 11            | 37                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                    | 43          | 22                 | 13            | 22                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 34          | 22                 | 19            | 25                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 38          | 19                 | 18            | 25                | 279                 |
| 44 to 54 years                    | 38          | 16                 | 16            | 30                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above                | 40          | 16                 | 12            | 32                | 405                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| SPD                               | 40          | 22                 | 19            | 19                | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                           | 50          | 16                 | 11            | 23                | 423                 |
| FDP                               | 37          | 20                 | 26            | 17                | 81                  |
| Other parties                     | 41          | 21                 | 27            | 11                | 79                  |
| No party                          | 31          | 20                 | 18            | 31                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated        | 26          | 14                 | 10            | 50                | 269                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Professionals                     | 45          | 10                 | 15            | 30                | 40                  |
| Businessmen                       | 43          | 17                 | 24            | 16                | 86                  |
| White-collar workers              | 41          | 20                 | 21            | 18                | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                  | 37          | 26                 | 18            | 19                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 40          | 21                 | 16            | 23                | 127                 |
| Domestic service                  | 31          | 9                  | 13            | 47                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 34          | 20                 | 27            | 19                | 112                 |
| Housewives                        | 36          | 18                 | 13            | 33                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                        | 54          | 20                 | 13            | 13                | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired               | 41          | 14                 | 7             | 38                | 200                 |
| Students; apprentices             | 54          | 15                 | -             | 31                | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |             |                    |               |                   |                     |
| Catholics                         | 40          | 17                 | 14            | 29                | 715                 |
| Protestants                       | 37          | 19                 | 17            | 27                | 755                 |
| Others                            | 36          | 19                 | 9             | 36                | 22                  |
| No religion                       | 33          | 19                 | 33            | 15                | 33                  |

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.



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|                              | <u>Well</u> | <u>Fairly<br/>well</u> | <u>Poorly</u> | <u>Un-<br/>decided</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>               |             |                        |               |                        |                         |
| Natives                      | 38%         | 19%                    | 16%           | 27%...100%             | 1235                    |
| Expellees, refugees          | 41          | 14                     | 15            | 30                     | 290                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>            |             |                        |               |                        |                         |
| Up to 1,999                  | 33          | 21                     | 18            | 28                     | 460                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999               | 30          | 24                     | 17            | 29                     | 123                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999              | 43          | 16                     | 17            | 24                     | 334                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999             | 38          | 22                     | 13            | 27                     | 254                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999           | 43          | 17                     | 11            | 29                     | 138                     |
| 250,000 and more             | 43          | 11                     | 17            | 29                     | 216                     |
| <u>Land:</u>                 |             |                        |               |                        |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, |             |                        |               |                        |                         |
| Bremen                       | 43          | 13                     | 19            | 25                     | 165                     |
| Lower Saxony                 | 39          | 14                     | 18            | 29                     | 214                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia       | 49          | 13                     | 11            | 27                     | 406                     |
| Hesse                        | 30          | 25                     | 23            | 22                     | 166                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate         | 33          | 23                     | 12            | 32                     | 85                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden           | 26          | 23                     | 16            | 35                     | 207                     |
| Bavaria                      | 36          | 25                     | 15            | 24                     | 282                     |

"Taking everything into consideration, should the American Forces leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

|                                   | <u>Leave</u> | <u>Stay on</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 25%          | 55%            | 20%...100%        | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |              |                |                   |                     |
| Men                               | 24           | 65             | 11                | 659                 |
| Women                             | 25           | 48             | 27                | 846                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |              |                |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                 | 26           | 52             | 22                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                 | 18           | 73             | 9                 | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |              |                |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 24           | 42             | 34                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 22           | 55             | 23                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 26           | 52             | 22                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 29           | 57             | 14                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                   | 23           | 65             | 12                | 343                 |
| No answer                         | 26           | 45             | 29                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |              |                |                   |                     |
| Very active                       | 22           | 72             | 6                 | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                   | 27           | 59             | 14                | 411                 |
| Remainder                         | 24           | 52             | 24                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |              |                |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                     | 10           | 82             | 8                 | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes              | 20           | 64             | 16                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes              | 27           | 53             | 20                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                     | 27           | 43             | 30                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |              |                |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                    | 23           | 54             | 23                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 28           | 54             | 18                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 24           | 59             | 17                | 279                 |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 26           | 53             | 21                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above                | 22           | 56             | 22                | 465                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |              |                |                   |                     |
| SPD                               | 37           | 51             | 12                | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                           | 19           | 63             | 18                | 423                 |
| FDP                               | 22           | 73             | 5                 | 81                  |
| Other parties                     | 25           | 66             | 9                 | 79                  |
| No party                          | 24           | 50             | 26                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated        | 19           | 46             | 35                | 269                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                |              |                |                   |                     |
| Professionals                     | 22           | 65             | 13                | 40                  |
| Businessmen                       | 12           | 75             | 13                | 86                  |
| White-collar workers              | 28           | 62             | 10                | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                  | 28           | 59             | 13                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers             | 26           | 57             | 17                | 127                 |
| Domestic service                  | 18           | 51             | 31                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands                | 20           | 61             | 19                | 112                 |
| Housewives                        | 27           | 48             | 25                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                        | 27           | 53             | 20                | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired               | 23           | 50             | 27                | 200                 |
| Students, apprentices             | 23           | 77             | -                 | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                  |              |                |                   |                     |
| Catholics                         | 21           | 55             | 24                | 715                 |
| Protestants                       | 28           | 56             | 16                | 755                 |
| Others                            | 32           | 59             | 9                 | 22                  |
| No religion                       | 30           | 64             | 6                 | 33                  |

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|  | <u>Leave</u> | <u>Stay<br/>on</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|--|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>                         |              |                    |                       |                         |
| Natives                                | 26%          | 53%                | 21%...100%            | 1235                    |
| Expellees, refugees                    | 19           | 64                 | 17                    | 290                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>                      |              |                    |                       |                         |
| Up to 1,999                            | 21           | 55                 | 24                    | 460                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999                         | 31           | 46                 | 23                    | 123                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999                        | 30           | 56                 | 14                    | 334                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999                       | 22           | 57                 | 21                    | 254                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999                     | 24           | 56                 | 20                    | 138                     |
| 250,000 and more                       | 26           | 58                 | 16                    | 216                     |
| <u>Land:</u>                           |              |                    |                       |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg,<br>Bremen | 27           | 63                 | 10                    | 165                     |
| Lower Saxony                           | 32           | 49                 | 19                    | 214                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia                 | 24           | 56                 | 20                    | 406                     |
| Hesse                                  | 28           | 59                 | 13                    | 166                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                   | 20           | 46                 | 34                    | 85                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                     | 21           | 52                 | 27                    | 207                     |
| Bavaria                                | 21           | 59                 | 20                    | 282                     |

"West Germany soon will set up an army of its own within NATO - that is, within the West European defense community. Do you believe West Germany will be recognized as an equal partner by the member nations of NATO, or don't you think it will enjoy equal rights with the others?"

|   | Recognized<br>as an equal | Not recog-<br>nized as<br>an equal | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>                     | 52%                       | 24%                                | 24%..100%     | 1525            |
| <u>Sex:</u>                                   |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Men   | 60                        | 27                                 | 13            | 659             |
| Women   | 46                        | 21                                 | 33            | 866             |
| <u>Education:</u>                             |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Elementary school                             | 49                        | 24                                 | 27            | 1264            |
| Beyond elementary                             | 67                        | 21                                 | 12            | 261             |
| <u>Income:</u>                                |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                                  | 48                        | 17                                 | 35            | 160             |
| 150 to 299 DM                                 | 53                        | 22                                 | 25            | 312             |
| 300 to 399 DM                                 | 49                        | 23                                 | 28            | 366             |
| 400 to 499 DM                                 | 54                        | 28                                 | 18            | 257             |
| 500 DM and more                               | 58                        | 26                                 | 16            | 343             |
| No answer                                     | 48                        | 20                                 | 32            | 87              |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:</u> <sup>Q</sup> |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Very active                                   | 67                        | 24                                 | 9             | 79              |
| Somewhat active                               | 57                        | 29                                 | 14            | 411             |
| Remainder                                     | 49                        | 21                                 | 30            | 1035            |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>                 |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Upper classes                                 | 78                        | 15                                 | 7             | 59              |
| Upper middle classes                          | 57                        | 24                                 | 19            | 380             |
| Lower middle classes                          | 50                        | 25                                 | 25            | 848             |
| Lower classes                                 | 48                        | 20                                 | 32            | 238             |
| <u>Age:</u>                                   |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                                | 60                        | 19                                 | 21            | 163             |
| 25 to 34 years                                | 55                        | 24                                 | 21            | 355             |
| 35 to 44 years                                | 52                        | 26                                 | 22            | 279             |
| 45 to 54 years                                | 49                        | 26                                 | 25            | 323             |
| 55 years and above                            | 51                        | 20                                 | 29            | 405             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>                      |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| SPD   | 51                        | 32                                 | 17            | 354             |
| CDU/CSU                                       | 64                        | 19                                 | 17            | 423             |
| FDP   | 64                        | 27                                 | 9             | 81              |
| Other parties                                 | 63                        | 23                                 | 14            | 79              |
| No party                                      | 42                        | 28                                 | 30            | 319             |
| No party preference stated                    | 41                        | 14                                 | 45            | 269             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>                            |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Professionals                                 | 65                        | 18                                 | 17            | 40              |
| Businessmen                                   | 60                        | 28                                 | 12            | 86              |
| White-collar workers                          | 60                        | 29                                 | 11            | 144             |
| Skilled laborers                              | 62                        | 25                                 | 13            | 221             |
| Semi-skilled laborers                         | 52                        | 24                                 | 24            | 127             |
| Domestic service                              | 42                        | 16                                 | 42            | 45              |
| Farmers, farmhands                            | 48                        | 31                                 | 21            | 112             |
| Housewives                                    | 46                        | 22                                 | 32            | 522             |
| Unemployed                                    | 40                        | 27                                 | 33            | 15              |
| Pensioners; retired                           | 51                        | 18                                 | 31            | 200             |
| Students, apprentices                         | 92                        | -                                  | 8             | 13              |
| <u>Religion:</u>                              |                           |                                    |               |                 |
| Catholics                                     | 54                        | 20                                 | 26            | 715             |
| Protestants                                   | 51                        | 26                                 | 23            | 755             |
| Others  | 59                        | 27                                 | 14            | 22              |
| No religion                                   | 43                        | 36                                 | 21            | 33              |

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|                              | <u>Recognized<br/>as an equal</u> | <u>Not recog-<br/>nized as<br/>an equal</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Origin:</u>               |                                   |   |                       |                         |
| Natives                      | 51%                               | 25%   | 24%..100%             | 1235                    |
| Expellees, refugees          | 57                                | 19  | 24                    | 290                     |
| <u>City Size:</u>            |                                   |   |                       |                         |
| Up to 1,999                  | 50                                | 20  | 30                    | 460                     |
| 2,000 to 4,999               | 54                                | 23  | 23                    | 123                     |
| 5,000 to 24,999              | 55                                | 24  | 21                    | 334                     |
| 25,000 to 99,999             | 53                                | 26  | 21                    | 254                     |
| 100,000 to 249,999           | 53                                | 25  | 22                    | 138                     |
| 250,000 and more             | 51                                | 27  | 22                    | 216                     |
| <u>Land:</u>                 |                                   |   |                       |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, |                                   |   |                       |                         |
| Bremen                       | 61                                | 23  | 16                    | 165                     |
| Lower Saxony                 | 48                                | 25  | 27                    | 214                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia       | 53                                | 25  | 22                    | 406                     |
| Hesse                        | 55                                | 22  | 23                    | 166                     |
| Rhineland/Palatinate         | 52                                | 19  | 29                    | 85                      |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden           | 50                                | 17  | 33                    | 207                     |
| Bavaria                      | 49                                | 28  | 23                    | 282                     |

"Two persons are discussing the possibility of a war between East and West. Would you please tell me which view you would be more likely to agree with?"

A - Mr. Mueller: In a war the German troops would have to bear the brunt of the fighting. The other countries would try to spare their troops as much as possible

B - Mr. Schultz: In case of an attack from the East German troops would have to face the enemy first, but later on the armies of our allies would come to our rescue and would bear the burden of the fighting together with us."

|                                   | <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Total West Germany</u>         | 45%      | 39%      | 16%..100%         | 1525                |
| <u>Sex:</u>                       |          |          |                   |                     |
| Men                               | 46       | 45       | 9                 | 659                 |
| Women                             | 44       | 35       | 21                | 866                 |
| <u>Education:</u>                 |          |          |                   |                     |
| Elementary school                 | 46       | 37       | 17                | 1264                |
| Beyond elementary                 | 38       | 50       | 12                | 261                 |
| <u>Income:</u>                    |          |          |                   |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                      | 39       | 35       | 26                | 160                 |
| 150 to 299 DM                     | 43       | 38       | 19                | 312                 |
| 300 to 399 DM                     | 46       | 40       | 14                | 366                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                     | 49       | 38       | 13                | 257                 |
| 500 DM and more                   | 43       | 45       | 12                | 343                 |
| No answer                         | 45       | 31       | 24                | 87                  |
| <u>Opinion Leadership Scale:®</u> |          |          |                   |                     |
| Very active                       | 48       | 46       | 6                 | 79                  |
| Somewhat active                   | 47       | 45       | 8                 | 411                 |
| Remainder                         | 44       | 36       | 20                | 1035                |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>     |          |          |                   |                     |
| Upper classes                     | 32       | 51       | 17                | 59                  |
| Upper middle classes              | 40       | 46       | 14                | 380                 |
| Lower middle classes              | 48       | 36       | 16                | 848                 |
| Lower classes                     | 44       | 36       | 20                | 238                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                       |          |          |                   |                     |
| Up to 24 years                    | 40       | 46       | 14                | 163                 |
| 25 to 34 years                    | 48       | 36       | 16                | 355                 |
| 35 to 44 years                    | 45       | 39       | 16                | 279                 |
| 45 to 54 years                    | 46       | 38       | 16                | 323                 |
| 55 years and above                | 42       | 40       | 18                | 405                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>          |          |          |                   |                     |
| SPD                               | 52       | 42       | 6                 | 354                 |
| CDU/CSU                           | 36       | 52       | 12                | 423                 |
| FDP                               | 47       | 51       | 2                 | 81                  |
| Other parties                     | 52       | 42       | 6                 | 79                  |
| No party                          | 52       | 27       | 21                | 319                 |
| No party preference stated        | 37       | 26       | 37                | 269                 |

(Cont'd on next page)

® Determined by political and organizational participation

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                                     | <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <u>Occupation:</u>                  |          |          |                   |                     |
| Professionals                       | 35%      | 42%      | 23%..100%         | 40                  |
| Businessmen                         | 45       | 47       | 8                 | 86                  |
| White-collar workers                | 40       | 51       | 9                 | 144                 |
| Skilled laborers                    | 49       | 41       | 10                | 221                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers               | 52       | 39       | 9                 | 127                 |
| Domestic service                    | 42       | 33       | 25                | 45                  |
| Farmers, farmhands                  | 53       | 33       | 14                | 112                 |
| Housewives                          | 45       | 34       | 21                | 522                 |
| Unemployed                          | 67       | 26       | 7                 | 15                  |
| Pensioners; retired                 | 34       | 45       | 21                | 200                 |
| Students, apprentices               | 15       | 69       | 16                | 13                  |
| <u>Religion:</u>                    |          |          |                   |                     |
| Catholics                           | 41       | 40       | 19                | 715                 |
| Protestants                         | 48       | 39       | 13                | 753                 |
| Others                              | 32       | 50       | 18                | 22                  |
| No religion                         | 61       | 33       | 6                 | 33                  |
| <u>Origin:</u>                      |          |          |                   |                     |
| Natives                             | 45       | 39       | 16                | 1235                |
| Expellees, refugees                 | 44       | 41       | 15                | 290                 |
| <u>City Size:</u>                   |          |          |                   |                     |
| Up to 1,999                         | 47       | 36       | 17                | 460                 |
| 2,000 to 4,999                      | 53       | 33       | 14                | 123                 |
| 5,000 to 24,999                     | 42       | 39       | 19                | 334                 |
| 25,000 to 99,999                    | 47       | 36       | 17                | 254                 |
| 100,000 to 249,999                  | 42       | 45       | 13                | 138                 |
| 250,000 and more                    | 40       | 49       | 11                | 216                 |
| <u>Land:</u>                        |          |          |                   |                     |
| Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen | 41       | 52       | 7                 | 165                 |
| Lower Saxony                        | 45       | 36       | 19                | 214                 |
| North Rhine/Westphalia              | 44       | 41       | 15                | 406                 |
| Hesse                               | 50       | 38       | 12                | 166                 |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                | 39       | 36       | 25                | 85                  |
| Wuerttemberg/Baden                  | 42       | 36       | 22                | 207                 |
| Bavaria                             | 48       | 36       | 16                | 282                 |







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